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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

GROSSU ADDRESSES MOLDAVIAN TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Feb 87 pp 2-3

[Speech by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP, at the 10th Congress of Moldavian Trade Unions on 31 January 1987]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates!

The work of the 10th Congress of Moldavian Trade Unions is drawing to a close. For the second day now a lively discussion has been conducted here in this assembly hall, a discussion concerning the urgency of radically restructuring the work of our republic trade unions in the spirit of the demands of the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress, which made decisions of an historic nature with regard to acceleration of our country's socioeconomic development and renewal of all aspects of our society, as well as ways of bringing about that restructuring.

This trade union congress is taking place at a special time. On 27 and 28 January the party's regularly-scheduled Central Committee Plenum was held. That plenum discussed the topic "Concerning Restructuring of the Party's Cadre Policy." In a speech by M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and in a resolution adopted by the Plenum a detailed analysis of the revolutionary transformations which are occurring in our country was given, the roots and causes of the problems which have accumulated in the past were revealed in detail, and the main aspects of a new cadre policy -- the primary link in restructuring -- were defined.

One characteristic which set this Plenum apart was the radical nature of the measures which it outlined and its resolve to carry through the course toward revolutionary transformation of the functioning of our society which was set at the 27th Party Congress, a course which has received the fervent support of the people. In terms of its influence on the restructuring process, this course is of crucial and truly historic significance.

The working people of Moldavia, and of other republics, greeted with enthusiasm and fervent approval the documents of this CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the task set therein: to follow firmly, consistently and with a great degree of persistence the strategic course toward acceleration of our socioeconomic development, toward renewal and restructuring. They are

expressing their support through efforts to work harder and to complete the plans and ambitious socialist obligations undertaken for the second year of the five-year plan, the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

V. I. Lenin repeatedly underscored the vital inner link between socialism and democracy, the necessity of granting complete creative freedom to the masses of the people. Developing this Leninist idea further, the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee clearly defined the relationship between democracy and restructuring and between democracy and progress in all areas of society.

One of the brilliant manifestations of the democratic spirit in our society is the active and constantly expanding work of trade unions, the most massive organization of working people, in which millions of people are becoming acquainted with the science of production management, state and public affairs and the science of socialist economic management.

The party has always set itself the task of encouraging constant growth in the authority and influence of this organization. As a result, with each passing year trade unions' contribution toward mobilization of working people to fulfill economic plans, develop socialist competition, reinforce discipline and organization and perform social tasks is growing.

Trade unions play a role befitting their stature in restructuring as well. Today this process, thanks to the January Central Committee Plenum, has been more fully and broadly defined. The party defines restructuring as: decisive elimination of stagnation; breakup of the mechanism which is hampering us; creation of a reliable and efficient mechanism for acceleration of our society's socioeconomic development; reliance on the vital creativity of the masses; all-round development of democracy and socialist self-government; strengthening of discipline and order; expansion of openness, criticism and self-criticism; a constant increase in intensive factors and universal introduction of economic methods of administration; priority development of the social sphere; and energetic efforts to eliminate distortions of socialist ethics.

"The ultimate objective of restructuring," underscored M. S. Gorbachev, "is profound renewal of all aspects of life in our country, the introduction into socialism of the most highly-perfected forms of social organization and the fullest possible demonstration of the humanistic nature of our system in all of its most important aspects -- economically, sociopolitically and ethically."

Work toward this end has already begun in our country. This work has yielded certain practical results. This is attested to by statistics on plan fulfillment for the first year of the five-year plan. Our country's national income rose by 4.1 percent, as compared to a planned increase of 3.9 percent. The increase in industrial production was 4.9 percent, or one-third higher than the average annual increase during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Grain production increased by almost 30 million metric tons. Housing construction rose by 5.2 million apartments as compared to 1985.

Positive changes have also been observed in our republic economy. The volume of industrial production increased last year by 6.2 percent as compared to the 1985 level, with labor productivity increasing by 5.3 percent, both figures being above plan goals. Total agricultural production increased by 8.5 percent, and labor productivity in that sector increased by 10.8 percent. All plans for the delivery of food products to the national economy were fulfilled. The CPSU Central Committee's instructions to increase grape production for the purpose of obtaining more juices, concentrates and fresh fruit were carried out. Over 42 percent of total grape procurements went for these purposes. Plan goals for the construction of housing with state capital investment funds were met, as were those for the construction of schools and clinics.

However, that which was achieved resulted primarily from utilization of the most convenient untapped resource: strengthening of discipline, organization and order in production and elimination of certain instances of slackness. As for the primary, deeper resources, which are to be found in the realm of accelerated scientific and technical progress, improvement of the administrative mechanism and further activation of the human factor, they are being brought to bear at a much slower rate. In addition, plan goals were not met for many important indices, especially in the area of capital construction and in the agricultural sector.

The January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee underscored the need to approach these results not only from the standpoint of the past, but to evaluate them first and foremost on the basis of the plans which have been announced by the party and the promises which have been made to the people. "We must clearly realize," said M. S. Gorbachev, "that we are still at the initial stage of restructuring. The largest and most difficult part of the job lies ahead of us. We must move forward persistently, step by step, unwaveringly, soberly evaluating what has already been done, not afraid to correct mistakes or to seek out and find new means and methods of solving those problems which arise and achieving the necessary progress toward those goals which we have set."

It is on the basis of this, the sole correct and party-like approach to the work which has been done thus far, through the prism of that approach, that we must today examine all the activities of Moldavian trade unions, their elective organs and the cadres who have been promoted by the working people to the leadership of this largest mass organization.

From the report by G. I. Yeremey it is clear that the work of the Moldavian Trade Unions Council [Moldsovrprof] during this accounting period was based upon the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and of the 17th Congress of our country's trade unions, and was aimed at dealing with pressing issues in the economic and social development of our republic. Guided by the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee, the AUCCTU and the 16th Congress of the Moldavian CP, by the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee with regard to accounts from our republic CP Central Committee and by other directive documents, our trade union organs have begun work to overcome processes of stagnation and reinforce discipline and order, and are persistently seeking forms and methods of work which provide an opportunity to increase their influence on the

development of the economy, people's education and solutions to social problems. And there is every reason to say to you today that our trade unions have also made their contribution to the positive changes which we are seeing in our republic today, to economic and social development, to the struggle against negative phenomena.

However, evaluating the work of the Moldsovprof and republic trade union committees in light of the guidelines established by the 27th CPSU Congress, and in particular by the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, congress delegates have correctly noted the existence of serious shortcomings in the work of our republic's leading trade union organs, as well as the fact that that work is not fully in step with the demands of the times and the tasks of acceleration, renewal and restructuring. The data contained in their economic analysis provide the most graphic evidence of this. Last year a total of 88 production associations and enterprises, or 17.4 percent of the total number of production associations and enterprises, failed to meet their plan goals for the sale of goods produced; this led to nonfulfillment (99.2 percent) of this important index by the republic as a whole. One industrial enterprise in four and 41 out of 49 cities and rayons in our republic failed to meet combined plan goals for the sale and delivery of goods. An especially large number of enterprises were lagging behind in this respect in the systems of the State Agroindustrial Committee, light industry, local industry, the building materials industry and some other sectors.

Although the overall republic plan goal for increased labor productivity was met, 19.3 percent of all enterprises and associations failed to do so. Production of goods was reduced by 88.7 million rubles as a result.

Quite a few reasons for these breakdowns could be cited. But the primary reason is insufficient attention to accelerated introduction of scientific and technical advances into production. The state plan for the development of science and technology was fulfilled by only 91 percent. The goals of this plan were not met by 18 out of 37 ministries and departments. The plan goal for introduction of new types of industrial production was fulfilled by only 86 percent.

Trade union organs, which have an obligation to take a genuine interest and set high standards, work to achieve absolute fulfillment of plans for the basic indices of scientific and technical progress and ensure that all measures for the improvement of production provided for in collective contracts are fully realized, are working on these tasks on an irregular basis and are lacking the necessary persistence and direction in their work. Trade union committees and organizations are not demonstrating sufficient initiative in emulating the example set by Leningraders or in developing competition to speed up the technical reequipping of enterprises and achieve the highest possible results from intensification of production through the introduction of scientific and technical innovations.

Trade union organizations are especially deserving of criticism on account of their poor utilization of the scientific-technical community, inventors and rationalizers to solve these problems, and on account of their unsatisfactory work with them when they are consulted. Each year no action is taken on

approximately 5,000 inventions and rationalizing proposals in our republic. Moldsovprof, the republic council of the All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers, the Council of Scientific and Technical Societies, and republic trade union committees are ignoring these facts, despite the fact it is their direct responsibility to oversee such matters.

Moldsovprof and the republic trade union committees must become more actively involved with questions pertaining to: acceleration of scientific and technical progress; the study, consideration and introduction into production of progressive experience; mobilization of labor collectives to promote an increase in labor productivity, raise the technical level of goods produced and encourage conservation and thriftiness; better utilization of existing production potential and the opportunities presented by the brigade form of labor organization and incentives; and full introduction of cost accounting. Furthermore, they must work with the necessary efficiency and aggressiveness in order to ensure that the measures taken and the work done correspond to the scale and acuteness of the problem of acceleration of socioeconomic development.

The quality of goods produced is one area requiring particular attention from trade unions. Over the past year no changes were noted in terms of improvement of product quality. Production volume of goods classified in the highest categories of quality even declined as compared to 1985. Over the past year the number of cases in which products could not be sold on account of failure to meet standards and technical specifications increased by a factor of 1.5. Everyone together and each individual should join in the search for ways to improve quality. There are ways of doing so in every collective, and these ways are already known. They should be utilized better and faster.

Such a radical step as the transfer of 22 of our republic enterprises to state approval of their goods prior to sale is part of intensification of the struggle to promote higher quality in production. This is an exceptionally important and responsible matter. The chairmen of the republic trade union committees concerned, along with ministries and directors of enterprises, are personally responsible for the introduction of the state approval system and steady work by collectives under conditions of outside supervision. Everything possible must be done to ensure goods are released for sale the very first time they are submitted for approval; this should be the norm. This applies to everyone, but especially to the Kishinev plants "Mikroprovod," "Vibropribor" and "Alfa," the Beltsy Electrical Equipment Plant, the Yedintsy Woodworking Equipment Plant, the Kishinev Sewing Factory imeni 23rd CPSU Congress and the Beltsy Sewing and Knitting Factory, which have all recently lost ground in this respect.

Trade unions, along with soviets of people's deputies, the Komsomol and people's control organs, should be more bold in the development and introduction into production of new types of products, making sure that even at the initial state they meet standards of high quality. It should always be borne in mind that by the end of this five-year plan the proportion of production in the highest quality category must be increased to 65 percent of the total volume of certified production. In this regard a great deal depends

not only on the technical level from which this problem is approached, but also on workers' initiative and sense of personal responsibility, i.e. on the human factor. Thus trade unions' field of action in the struggle to promote quality is exceptionally large, and it is on that field that the restructuring of cadres and their willingness to keep pace with real-life requirements are tested.

One of the most important tasks of trade unions in the realm of physical production is the creation of such conditions and the introduction of such forms of production organization as would allow every worker to feel himself to be truly master of his enterprise. In the course of socialist construction diverse forms for worker participation in production management have come into being. Recently the role of workers assemblies and collective contracts has expanded, and a new form of democracy has come into existence: brigade- and shop-level soviets. As a result, life itself has predicated the need for a fundamental legal act which would implement the party line toward effective utilization of direct democracy.

Soviet people have expressed their satisfaction with the resolution adopted by the Central Committee Plenum as the basis for a proposed USSR Law on State Enterprises (Associations), seeing therein a document which will be submitted for national discussion and a major political step in the transition, in the words of V. I. Lenin, "to true people's self-government." Party, trade-union and Komsomol organs, and our republic ministries and departments should, after publication of this proposal, organize general discussion of it, summarize workers' proposals, and in every way possible encourage a further increase in the masses' labor activism and in their role and powers with regard to the resolution of vital issues connected with production-related, social and cadre affairs.

"Consistent implementation of the Law on State Enterprises," emphasized M. S. Gorbachev at the Central Committee Plenum, "in combination with a set of measures which are currently being realized in the economic realm, will create, according to our predictions, a completely new situation in the economy and will act as an accelerator of economic development and lead to qualitative improvement of many aspects of society."

In our republic a large number of workers are members of the agroindustrial workers' trade union. They are currently involved in practical realization of the party's Food Program, and on their work depends to a great degree the level at which the public will be supplied with food products.

Last year rural workers on the whole made a certain amount of progress in the development of the agricultural sector of the economy, as has already been noted. But nevertheless we must admit that that sector did not move at the pace planned for the first year of the five-year plan. Plans for the production of grain crops were fulfilled by only 69 percent, and the plan for the production of sugar beets by only 82 percent. As before, crop yield per hectare and livestock productivity vary widely from farm to farm and from rayon to rayon. Those farms and rayons which are lagging behind, and there are quite a few of them, are causing substantially lower indices for the republic as a whole as a result of their poor production figures. Last year,

for example, milk production as compared to 1985 increased in 29 rayons, but declined in 11 others. Only two rayons -- Brichanskiy and Slobodzeyskiy -- reached the level of 4,000 kilograms of milk production which was established as a standard by the 16th Congress of the Moldavian CP. Milk production per cow ranges from 2,700 kilograms to 5,800 kilograms in our republic. Differences in weight gain per pig or per head of cattle during the fattening period at large livestock breeding complexes operating under identical conditions are impermissible.

In the second year of the five-year plan our republic agroindustrial complex faces large, responsible tasks: to raise substantially the level of productivity of fields and farms, to meet all plan goals and to complete by 7 November of this year the two-year plan goal for the sale of grain, sunflower seeds, grapes and all types of livestock products to the state.

The newly-created trade union for agroindustrial complex workers should be putting forth every effort to achieve this goal. However, the organizational period of its administrative organs has been excessively long. It is essential that we organize the work of all the branches of this trade union more quickly, in particular raising the level of organization and results from competition. In this area there remain very many shortcomings, and the greatest of them is the fact that rural labor collectives often compete without taking either the requirements of acceleration or an orientation toward high end results into consideration. Furthermore, labor competition has been seriously harmed in terms of morale by the practice of falsification of accounts for the purpose of winning favorable positions and material rewards, a practice which has become common in a number of places. This negative phenomenon is currently being eliminated. Trade unions must tighten their supervision of the tallying of competition results and in the future prevent such incidents from ever occurring again in any economic or cultural field.

The trade union of workers in construction and the building materials industry bears particular responsibility for the current state of affairs in the field of capital construction. Today we are justified in calling the cadres who head this trade union and the trade union committees of individual construction organizations to account for being behind schedule on the majority of plans for contract jobs and completion of construction. Despite repeated criticism directed at those individuals, no noticeable restructuring has taken place in their organizations. Republic-level and local trade union committees must devote specific attention to work to improve construction workers' organization and work incentives, and, together with economic administrators, bring about universal introduction of the principles of brigade and collective contracts and give more attention to the provision at construction sites of those day-to-day conditions which are a prerequisite for highly productive work.

The Central Committee of the Moldavian CP hopes that the trade union of workers in construction and the building materials industry will use every means at its disposal to resolve one problem which faces all of us: rescuing contract organizations from their long-standing state of lagging behind the constantly growing needs of the economy. We must step up the struggle to

promote quality construction and to eliminate padding of accounts and ignoring of problems in this sector.

There is one other issue which is directly connected with physical production. As you are aware, at the beginning of January a meeting of our republic party economic aktiv was held. That meeting discussed the tasks of party, soviet and economic organs in terms of compliance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee with respect to strengthening of discipline and organization and a higher level of responsibility on the part of managerial personnel for on-the-job safety. This issue concerns trade unions directly. They have been granted broad rights to strictly monitor compliance with all standards and technical regulations pertaining to safety, labor protection, sanitation and hygiene, and to punish anyone guilty of causing major injury to a worker or kolkhoz member.

Unfortunately, trade unions are by no means making the fullest use of these rights in all places. I will not bore you with figures, I will simply say that you yourselves are aware of how numerous are incidents of violations of safety requirements in the utilization of tools and equipment at enterprises, farms and organizations. You are also aware of the reasons for this. And you must conduct the most decisive struggle in favor of universal establishment of healthy and safe working conditions, increase the demands made of cadres and pay more attention to the education of all workers in a spirit of intolerance toward violations of safety practices.

One key task of trade unions is active participation in the realization of the party's proposed social program. The fact that you are well aware of this was bespoken by the fact that the majority of speeches by delegates to this congress focused on that very question.

At the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee it was noted that changes in the social realm have already begun, though accompanied by great difficulties. In our country in the wake of the measures which have been taken to reinforce discipline and combat alcoholism, the number of accidents and amount of work time lost has declined for the first time since the 1960's. Overall crime figures have gone down by almost one-fourth, and those for serious crimes have declined by one-third. Everywhere the struggle against those who violate law and order has intensified. The volume of housing construction has risen, making it possible to provide more new housing in 1986 than in 1985. More kindergartens, nurseries, schools, clinics, hospitals and cultural and domestic facilities were built.

"In short, there have been positive changes," stated the Central Committee Politburo's report to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. "But the mass of problems which has accumulated in this important area is too great, and so far we have been too timid about tackling those problems."

In this connection let us examine the status of housing construction in our republic. Of course, certain changes have taken place in that sector. A total of 10 percent more housing was readied for occupancy in 1986 than in 1985. The plan for state capital investments was fulfilled. But for all sources of financing taken together the plan for new housing construction was fulfilled

by only 98 percent, and the plan for total capital investments in housing construction by only 97 percent. Plans for the completion of preschool facilities and hospitals also remained underfulfilled. For the year of 1986 the ministries of construction, motor transport and health care, the MSSR Main Administration of Power and Electrification, the MSSR Administration of the Fish Industry and the Beltsy, Rybnitsa, Kishinev, Ungeny and other ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies failed to meet their planned goals for housing construction. The Central Committee Buro intends to punish the guilty parties severely on account of this.

One important buttress for housing construction is the economic method. In this matter we have had a certain amount of experience, but we are using that experience poorly. Furthermore, in a number of places there is misunderstanding of this issue. The heads of enterprises under the ministries of motor transport, highway construction and maintenance, trade, consumer services, the MSSR Main Administration of Power and Electrification, the Moldavian Union of Consumers' Societies, the Moldavian Railway Administration, and a number of major republic-level enterprises have for years not been using the economic method in housing construction. And although the problem of housing for labor collectives remains just as acute as before, trade unions tranquilly continue to ignore this method. Yet they are the very ones who should be especially persistent on this point.

Trade unions have not done everything they can to ensure strict compliance with the principle of social justice and with legal principles in their distribution of housing. Trade union committees seldom dare to voice resolute opposition to violation of the apartment distribution system by officials or to other, related abuses. Does this not occur because of the fact that some trade union officials are obtaining apartments for themselves and for their friends and relatives by circumventing the law? Is this not the meaning of the flagrant violations of the current system for the distribution of housing to administrative workers which have been uncovered in the cities of Beltsy and Rybnitsa and in Yedinetskiy, Kutuzovski and a number of other rayons?

B. I. Pasechniyak, former chairman of the trade union committee of the Beltsy Construction Trust, improved his housing conditions through the use of false pretense and fictitious documents. During the five years in which he held that position he flagrantly violated housing legislation, assigning 47 apartments out of turn, of which 37 were given to individuals who were not employed by the trust, including the chairman's brother. An investigation into this matter is currently under way.

Housing distribution is a serious problem, one which affects thousands and thousands of people. Finding a solution to this problem should be one of the highest-level party and civic responsibilities. Trade unions have enough rights and capabilities to ensure that people wait their turn for housing, that objectivity, legality and honesty prevail, and that abuses are prevented. I assume that the decisions and measures worked out by this congress will be aimed at fuller utilization of the rights possessed by trade unions to establish order in this matter. As was rightly noted at the January Central Committee Plenum, there are still difficulties in the trade in industrial goods, in city transportation and municipal services, and at health care

facilities and cultural facilities. As before, our republic has not solved the problems of how to provide the public with meat, dairy products, sausage, vegetables, fruits, canned meats, fruits and vegetables, and other food products on a rational and proportional basis. Retail trade is especially poorly organized in Chernenkovskiy, Kantemirskiy, Kamenskiy, Kotovskiy, Kalarashskiy, Strashenskiy and Chimishliyskiy rayons.

Some administrative personnel in trade union and economic organs are underestimating the importance of and need for development of retail trade and consumer services and provision of food service at workers' places of employment. These questions are not being reflected adequately in plans for economic and social development or in collective agreements. As a result, at many enterprises blue- and white-collar workers are inadequately provided with cafeteria space: in the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources system there are only 44 percent as many facilities as are required, in the Ministry of Consumer Services 50 percent, in the Ministry of Highway Construction and Maintenance only 79 percent, and in the Ministry of Local Industry system only 75 percent. At such major enterprises in the capital as the Virbropribor Plant, the Experimental Plant imeni M. I. Kalinin, the Styaua Roshie Association and the Bukuriya Tobacco Combine and Factory there is cafeteria seating for less than 40 percent those employed there.

Consumer services departments are lacking at a large majority of enterprises and farms under the State Agroindustrial Committee and the ministries of the construction materials industry, health care, construction and motor transport. The proportion of services performed by consumer services departments directly at enterprises is three percent. Consumer services for the rural population are organized in an extremely unsatisfactory manner. Of a total of 2,208 livestock breeding complexes and small livestock farms, only one in three is served by stationary or mobile repair enterprises.

Sociological research done in December of last year in Floreshtskiy Rayon indicates that between 36 and 42 percent of the workers and kolkhoz members surveyed feel that over the last year nothing has changed in the operations of rayon and village organizations for retail trade, food services, consumer services, communications, public transportation, clubs, houses of culture and libraries, and between six and 18 percent feel that the situation has even worsened.

Trade unions have an obligation to react to these shortcomings in a more decisive manner. It is your duty to deal actively and specifically with problems relating to the organization of proper retail trade and consumer services and food service for workers at their place of employment, and to make use of all your rights and control functions to ensure that those things which are intended for working people actually do reach them.

Trade unions have been slack in their supervision of medical services for working people. In addition, serious shortcomings continue to occur in the organization of medical assistance, preventive medical examinations and clinical care for working people. Following the example of our country's industrial centers, at many enterprises and in many cities and rayons comprehensive directed Health Programs have been developed. However, these

programs are being implemented poorly. Once again formalism rears its head: abundance on paper, paucity in practice.

The same must be said of athletic fitness events. This year in our republic we have had exceptionally favorable conditions for winter sports. It would have been possible to set up massive numbers of skating rinks on lakes and ponds, to organize cross-country ski races and all sorts of competitions. But none of this was done. On Komsomolskoye Lake in the capital the board of directors of the Central Park of Culture and Rest and the trade unions could not manage to set up even the simplest skating rinks and hockey courts. And this would not even have cost anything; it could have been done with the help of the teenagers and young people who use the park. Obviously our city and republic trade union leaders do not like skating or skiing, and merely admire the winter scenery from the windows of their offices.

As for sports and physical fitness programs in general, the organization thereof leaves a great deal to be desired and is by no means commensurate with our capabilities. The main reason for this is the fact that in a number of places athletic organizations are headed by people who have little initiative, and sometimes by completely unqualified people, as has been repeatedly pointed out to the administration of Moldsovprof. The continual reshuffling of personnel on the "Nistru" team, which was one of the major reasons for its miserable showing last season, is the most graphic illustration of what I have said.

Workers have often justly complained about the operations of trade union health care facilities and about the low organizational level of treatment and service culture at sanatoria and health resorts. The system for distribution of free passes to resorts is also not strictly complied with. On the former republic-level committees of the trade unions of workers in the food industry and agricultural workers a large number of violations and schemes have been uncovered. In the Ministry of Light Industry apparatus, at the Kishinev Sewing Factory imeni 23rd CPSU Congress, the Zorile Production Association, the Machine Parts Production Association and the Beltsy Fur Combine preferential travel passes for treatment and vacations are received by the same individuals year after year, despite the fact that such passes are in short supply.

As you are aware, in 1985 the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution entitled "Concerning Measures to Improve Utilization of Clubs and Athletic Facilities." Trade unions have done a certain amount of work to implement the requirements of that resolution. However, radical restructuring falls far short of reaching all of our hearths of culture. Average attendance at clubs and houses of culture presently does not exceed 65-70 percent of their total capacity. We find the same picture with respect to utilization of athletic facilities. No steps have been taken to improve people's leisure activities on their days off. Of a total of 209 trade unions clubs, one in eight is in need of capital repairs or remodeling.

All these questions pertaining to working people's recreation, health and vacation time have been urgently raised during the course of the present trade union accounting and electoral campaign. The time has come to make a serious

effort to resolve them. In this connection it is very important to emphasize above all the mass nature, spontaneous character and educational aspect of such work. Of course, we also need to take an interest in the creation of a physical base for this work and in the strengthening of the institutions for culture and sports and other organizations which provide sound, healthy recreation for workers and other cadres.

The educational functions of trade unions are exceptionally multifaceted. Whereas in the area of labor education trade union committees and organizations, utilizing schools of communist labor and continually operating production conferences and the mentor system, have worked out a more or less coordinated system of operations, on questions of moral education they are operating with a low level of effectiveness and not actively enough. Today I could cite only a few trade union committees which are skillfully making use of their rights in the struggle against ignoring of problems, padding of accounts, graft, speculation and theft of socialist property. Meanwhile, in our republic these phenomena have become widespread and taken on extremely monstrous forms; this was stated frankly, harshly and without respect of persons in a well-known resolution by the CPSU Central Committee and in a report to the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the wake of the 4th Central Committee Plenum of the Moldavian CP, which thoroughly assessed the unsatisfactory work of directive organs and administrative cadres to eradicate ignoring of problems and padding of accounts, in our republic an uncompromising struggle against these and other socially dangerous phenomena and against the causes which give rise to them has been unleashed. Today we must admit that by no means everyone has joined in this work, that many labor collectives have yet to go beyond propagandistic measures, and that the rust of falsified accounts, although to a lesser degree, continues to have a ruinous effect on the moral atmosphere. Instances of defrauding of the state and violations of accountability are being uncovered too slowly, and as a rule this is being done by collectives themselves rather than by higher-level control organizations.

Petty thieves have also become bold: over the past year outside security alone detained approximately 17,000 violators, from whom various objects of value worth a total of 120,000 rubles were retrieved. Extortion, graft, speculation and other illegal acts have not yet been eliminated.

Speeches by delegates to the congress indicate that these questions are of concern to the trade union aktiv, that they hold the honor and good name of the working man in high esteem and that upon returning home they are going to step up considerably their work to eradicate this social ill.

Moldsovsprof and the republic trade union committees should draw the appropriate conclusions from the sharp and just criticism which was heard at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee with respect to our republic and from the criticism by delegates to the Moldavian Congress of Trade Unions; they should carry out effective measures to develop a truly uncompromising struggle against falsification of accounts, theft of socialist property, extortion and all other negative manifestations, to educate working people in

a spirit of lofty morality and intolerance toward shortcomings and actions which cast aspersions on the dignity of the Soviet man.

Our republic trade union organization comes to its 10th Congress numerically larger and organizationally stronger. The activism of trade union organs in the realm of production and in the social sphere has increased, and their influence in rural areas has grown. Moldsovprof republic trade union committees have begun to interact and cooperate more closely with state and economic organs, soviets of people's deputies and public organizations.

However, it should be noted that the existing serious shortcomings in the work of trade unions are evidence of the fact that Moldsovprof, its presidium and secretariat and G. I. Yeremey, chairman of the Trade Unions Council, have not recognized in time nor evaluated in the proper manner all the acuteness of the accumulated negative processes and phenomena in the operations of trade unions in our republic, and have not taken steps to overcome them. The long-range plans and measures drawn up by plenums of the Trade Unions Council are essentially a rehashing of previously adopted documents. Criticism at plenums is often superficial and unconstructive, and effective criticism from below is virtually nonexistent.

Moldsovprof and its divisions continue to incline toward an officebound style of operations. Roughly three-quarters of their work time is spent on the preparation of various documents, the number of which is decreasing with intolerable slowness. The effectiveness of many resolutions adopted by them remains low. Over this past period the presidium and secretariat on 12 occasions considered questions pertaining to ways to improve labor protection and safety practices in our republic economy. However, the situation is changing for the better extremely slowly. Moldsovprof has thus far not succeeded in defining the main directions in its work and focusing its efforts on the most important, most urgent issues, nor in fully reorienting trade union activities in the direction of the real-life business of labor collectives, of renewal and restructuring, deepening of democracy and solutions to urgent social problems.

The above also applies to sector committees. Some of them, including the republic committees of the Trade Union of Workers in the Agroindustrial Complex (former chairman S. F. Fandofan) and the Trade Union of Aviation Workers (former chairman M. I. Pogorelov), have been doing poor work, busying themselves with the adoption of a large number of documents, to the detriment of those documents' quality, have had only a slight influence on the situation in collectives, and have devoted too little attention to improvement of union members' working and living conditions. They have permitted violations of housing legislation and the system for the distribution of free travel passes and have not conducted a resolute struggle against violations of labor discipline, ignoring problems and theft of socialist property.

We must admit that the Moldavian CP's course toward increased demands upon and responsibility by cadres and a merciless struggle against all phenomena which are alien to us has still not been adequately reflected in the work of Moldsovprof, republic trade union committees and many primary trade union organizations. All this alarms the the republic CP Central Committee. For in

restructuring and affirmation of a new working style the leading role is played by the staff of trade union organizations and above all by their leaders. Success in this matter depends to a large degree upon their adherence to principles, clear understanding of present-day requirements and ability to evaluate critically that which has already been done and then choose the correct path.

That is why at the present stage it is so important that we talk about mistakes in work with cadres and the distortions in cadre policy which have been permitted over the past few years and which have led to serious shortcomings in the functioning of a number of trade union organizations and to negative phenomena in society. Many mistakes could have been avoided if Moldsovprof and the republic trade union committees had consistently followed a principled, effective cadre policy, one which would have ensured a high level of competence on the part of all branches of trade union leadership and economic administration.

Obviously today it is not enough merely to acknowledge the mistakes of the past. In order to avoid mistakes in the future, the Trade Unions Council has an obligation to learn lessons from the past, those lessons which were spoken of by M. S. Gorbachev at the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Above all, in the future we must not allow unqualified or inadequately tested individuals to be promoted to trade union work, because over the past two-and-one-half years a total of 61 staff members of the apparatus of republic-, city- and rayon-level trade union committees have been relieved of their duties. A total of 24 trade union committee chairmen were convicted of various abuses of power.

Despite the high rate of turnover of important cadres, the Moldsovprof apparatus is still in need of qualitative improvement. Among 14 division chiefs, who have an average age of approximately 50, there are only two women and only three staff members under 30 years of age. All possible sources of cadres for promotion have not been considered. For a long period of time the positions of deputy chief of the Financial Department, chief of the Lecture Group and chairman of the Moldova Voluntary Sport League remained vacant. In the period since the 9th Congress nine chairmen and 10 secretaries of republic trade union committees have been co-opted, and over the past three years 27 chairmen of city- and rayon-level committees were chosen by this method.

The facts cited above are graphic confirmation of the timeliness of the demand made by the CPSU Central Committee Plenum that cadre work be decisively restructured in all areas of public life and at all levels of administration, that it be renewed seriously and freed from distortions and errors and made truly modern, more active and purposeful and indissolubly linked to the key directions in the struggle for accelerated socioeconomic development.

On the whole, comrades, a great deal still remains to be done in order to improve radically the functioning of trade unions, in order to ensure that they live up to their fullest potential, assess their rights and capabilities in a new way and thereby increase their contribution to the cause of restructuring. And above all it is necessary for Moldsovprof, republic trade union committees and the administrative staff of these organs to evaluate the

actual situation in our republic trade unions self-critically, thoroughly and demandingly, and then focus all mass organizational work on primary, rayon- and city-level trade union committees, exert a high level of exactingness and supervision over the work of trade union cadres and activists, and render them the assistance and support which they need.

It is important that we reinforce the committee method of resolving problems and the personal responsibility of the members of the Trade Unions Council Presidium for their assigned tasks. They should consult more frequently with rank-and-file workers and the select trade union aktiv, and they should decisively reject administration by decree and an imperative tone in their leadership. I think that today it is appropriate to remind the administrative staff of trade unions, their full- and part-time staff and trade union activists of a well-known Leninist requirement for trade union workers: that they be in the midst of the working life, that they know it in great detail, that they be able to determine the mood of the masses, the degree of their consciousness and their real needs without error, without a shadow of false idealization, be able to win the limitless trust of the masses through a comradely attitude toward them and painstaking efforts to meet their needs. Trade union workers should always measure everything they do against this Leninist principle.

The new council of Moldsovsprof and all trade unions organizations face the major job of realizing the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress, the 16th Congress of the Moldavian CP and this present congress of our republic trade unions, and of realizing the plan for the second year of this five-year plan. Party committees and organizations have an obligation to aid them in this in every way possible, to help them play an active role in restructuring and to create the proper conditions for broader participation by trade union cadres in the making of administrative decisions at all levels. Generally speaking, as was underscored at the Central Committee Plenum, what we need now are deeds and more deeds.

Allow me to express my firm conviction that Moldavia's trade unions will work harder, function actively, boldly, creatively and competently, and make a worthy contribution to the realization of tasks which will enable our republic to reach qualitatively new levels of economic, social and spiritual progress.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MSSR BURO EXAMINES RESTRUCTURING BLUNDERS TYPICAL OF RAYONS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 25 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by E. Shalimov, SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent: "Into a Stream of Concrete Actions: Report from a Meeting of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] Afterwards, during the Buro meeting, it would be noted that Floreshtskiy Raykom is by no means the weakest in our republic, that its party organization did not completely waste its time last year... But to begin with N. A. Kutkovetskiy, first secretary of the Floreshtskiy Raykom, was asked a number of questions, the very first of which made both Kutkovetskiy and his colleagues, comrades from his raykom who had been invited to attend the meeting, stop and think.

Incidentally, this question could serve as a very hard touchstone for other party workers, for each of us:

"Almost one year has passed since the 27th CPSU Congress: in what way has the work of the first secretary and the raykom buro members been enriched and what new features have appeared in that work? In short, in what specific ways has your raykom restructured?"

In general we do a lot of talking about restructuring; we have mastered the vocabulary of restructuring quite well, including the cliché that restructuring must go full circle, that it must be applicable to each of us, yet it is still seldom that we decide to ask ourselves, without making any excuses, this question: in what specific ways have we restructured? But we should: the time has come to do so. Convincing proof of this was offered once again by the answer given by the party's Floreshtskiy Raykom to the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro concerning restructuring of the former's operations in order to conform to the spirit of the guidelines set down by the 27th Party Congress and the requirements of a CPSU Central Committee resolution on the work of the party's Perm Obkom. It convinced us not because some unusual or emergency situation has arisen in Floreshtskiy Rayon, but precisely because there has been a certain amount of progress there, and because the problems and failings encountered in Floreshtskiy Rayon are typical of many other rayons as well.

At this point we should note that the situation in Floreshtskiy Rayon was investigated very thoroughly, applying modern party methods and practices. Specifically, the operations of over one-half of its primary party organizations were analyzed, organizations in which approximately 70 percent of the rayon's communists are represented. Interviews and sociological surveys received input into their specific analysis from over 20,000 workers. During the inspection process there was also a frank exchange of opinions at meetings with the party and economic aktiv.

Taken together, all of this helped shed light on both the seeds of restructuring and the dark corners where there remain accumulations of things which must be resolutely eliminated.

The raykom and many primary party organizations have a real desire to seek out and find forms of operation and party influence on affairs which will be in step with the spirit of the times. There has been some progress in that direction.

The raykom is attempting to shift the focus of all its work to labor collectives and primary party organizations. Issues involving cadres are being resolved more democratically. Incidentally, both the positive aspects of the rayon party organization's work and its failures and uncompleted tasks were set forth clearly and in detail in a resolution published a few days ago by the Moldavian CP Central Committee in reaction to the account given by the Floreshtskiy Raykom. That resolution makes it possible to see more clearly how the raykom's account was actually handled at the Central Committee Buro meeting; this was a thorough and instructive demonstration of party practice, with fundamental conclusions being reached.

An old question: why, under identical conditions, do results vary from farm to farm and from enterprise to enterprise? There is only one explanation -- different cadres. The first secretary of the raykom himself acknowledged this. Replying to one of the questions, he even referred to resistance on the part of some cadres to the search for solutions to urgent problems. Today we are no longer shocked by such statements; behind them lie real difficulties and a struggle for restructuring, which so far is not being implemented as quickly as we would like or as it should be. There are people who assume that it will be possible to sit quietly and wait for the time when things will go back to being the way they once were. Obviously resistance by such individuals is passive; they even give verbal support to changes. We are convinced that the restructuring will not be undone and that the party will not retreat. But restructuring is still being hindered in many ways. The question arises: who is resisting restructuring?

Of course, it is not the cadres who even before were capable of doing their job well and working honestly. The ones who are resisting are those who have held the same positions for decades, never standing out in the crowd, never achieving any substantial positive results, formally performing their administrative functions. Obviously resistance also comes from those who have even recently been given unjustified promotions. In such cases the raykom has only itself and its primary party organizations to blame.

Yes, the party committee and lower-level branches of the party have been making visible efforts to restructure their work. It is also evident that many people have a fervent desire to do so. This was convincingly demonstrated by the party assemblies conducted in that rayon under the common topic of "Your Contribution to Restructuring," assemblies at which discussion was to the point and questions were posed, as the saying goes, point-blank.

But restructuring today must be conducted in a directed fashion, it was underscored at the Central Committee Buro meeting. And it is this element, direction, which raykoms sometimes lack.

The desire for restructuring and positive tendencies on this point, as analysis of the situation in Floreshtskiy Rayon has shown, have not become a deep inner need from the standpoint of cadres and primary party organizations. Someone is carrying over statements -- very correct ones, we must admit -- from report to report, statements pointing out the importance of restructuring, but the specific question of what must be done to achieve it is not raised, and no one is in any hurry to commence restructuring. However, much which has been complicated by talk could and should be reduced to simple, specific actions, it was emphasized at the Buro meeting.

At the moral and psychological level the main thing is to eradicate consistently and persistently all the negative phenomena which previously we often tolerated: deception, defrauding of the state, injustice, conceit, routine, stagnant ways of thinking and other, similar things. And in the economy we must rise to a new level of management and make intensification and acceleration the norm.

Some people assume that the demand that the highest world standards be equalled applies only to the giants of industry like the VAZ and KamAZ plants, but not to that specific section of which they are in charge. Such attitudes are also typical of many administrators and party organizations in Floreshtskiy Rayon.

That means, it was emphasized at the Buro meeting, that that raykom is still utilizing poorly those opportunities for qualitative leaps in the economy which have opened up since the 27th CPSU Congress. The restructuring process there lacks depth and a businesslike approach. The party organization has been unable to concentrate all its efforts on defining and solving priority tasks such as intensification of production and introduction of scientific and technical innovations and advanced know-how into practice. The whole process is being slowed down by the inertia of an outmoded way of thinking and undue attachment to old systems and approaches.

If we go deeper, then we see the weak aspects in the work of the raykom itself, its failures, underlying these phenomena. So far the raykom has been unable to come up to the standards set by the 27th CPSU Congress with respect to its guidance of primary party organizations.

For example, as we have already noted, sometimes there is a lack of consistency and adherence to principles on cadre questions. That is precisely why the practice of transferring unsuccessful or even completely culpable

administrators from one post to another continues to flourish. In March of last year, for example, by a decision of the raykom buro I. Gonts was relieved of his position as director of MPPS [not further identified] for nonperformance of his administrative duties. And almost immediately he was named head livestock expert at a RAPO. V. Kuznetsov, director of the Trifaneshty Sovkhoz, was relieved of his duties on account of negligence, yet within a month he was appointed deputy director of a canning plant. The "unsinkability" of members of the nomenklatura is obviously to the detriment of the cause of restructuring. Also damaging is the fact that some administrative cadres in the rayon have grown accustomed to criticism, developing the habit of listening to it but then not making any changes in their work. For example, G. Voytikovskiy, secretary of the party organization of the Put K Kommunizmu Kolkhoz, has been criticized through various local forums for many years, but nothing has changed as a result.

It is quite obvious: in order for criticism to be what it should be -- an effective means of improving work and of restructuring -- some people's attitudes towards it have got to change. Today the party demands that not a single individual, not a single organization be beyond the reach of criticism, unsupervised from below. Timely, direct and constructive criticism, especially from below, is also an instrument of control. In this area the raykom should set an example. Because if words of criticism directed at leading individuals are seldom ever heard at plenums of the party committee this leads, at best, to complacency. And most probably an important link will be missing in efforts to strengthen observance of legality if, for instance, the chief of the rayon militia division is beyond the reach of criticism. And that is what has occurred in Floreshty.

We are not talking about a practice which is sometimes followed, that of "criticizing" an administrator according to a previously arranged scenario. We are talking about a cause which cannot progress without a critical outsider's gaze at those who have been placed in charge, without a frank exchange of opinions. In large part speeches at plenums and aktiv meetings highlight achievements, and sanguine assurances are often heard in such speeches. All this is to the detriment of constructive criticism which offers specific proposals, which, when it is actually expressed, is most often in the form of requests, if it is directed from below.

"No restructuring, no turning point can occur," underscored M. S. Gorbachev in the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress, "unless every communist, especially every administrator, understands the tremendous significance of practical actions, which are the only thing that can move life forward and raise the level of labor efficiency."

Unfortunately, often there is a lack of a businesslike approach and understanding of the importance of practical actions on the part of many party organizations in Floreshtskiy Rayon. Hence the fact that decisions which perhaps are not bad in and of themselves often get no farther than the planning stage. Restructuring is too slow in reaching this area, the area of monitoring of implementation.

First secretary N. A. Kutkovetskiy and many other raykom members are energetic people who work enthusiastically. No one can accuse them of passivity. Yet sometimes they are unable to make any progress. Why? The reply to that question could be heard at the buro meeting.

For example, once again it is Kutkovetskiy who, working energetically and attempting to achieve results as swiftly as possible, tries to have a direct effect on the "object" -- whether it be economic administrators, a village soviet, a trade union organization or a farm collective. Sometimes he gets results. But, generally speaking, today's problems cannot be solved without reliance on the entire system of economic and public organizations, without mobilization of the communists who work in those organizations. Party style today requires an ability to work under conditions of democratization of all areas of our lives.

Even if prompted by the most admirable motivations, efforts to circumvent the rayispolkom, RAPO and economic administrators of enterprises means in practical terms that a raykom is getting away from political methods of leadership and tending toward administrative methods, with all the consequences which that brings. For instance, such an approach prevents financial managers from mastering economic methods of administration. And what about the raykom itself? Any direct intervention in economic or other matters, intervention which is not prompted by an emergency situation, tends to lead a party committee away from political leadership and weakens its efforts on the most important point.

We have grown accustomed to planning on a large scale, years and years in advance. In previous years this often created a kind of illusion on the part of economic administrators and primary party organizations: we'll make it, we'll get it done sometime later... Almost as if the job would do itself. Especially when the subject was social or consumer-related issues. The CPSU Central Committee resolution on the work of the Perm Obkom, which with all severity demands specific and immediate solutions to precisely such issues, serves as a convincing reminder: it is time to get rid of the old approach.

That is why it was asked in all seriousness at the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro meeting why thus far virtually nothing has been done at farms and at the rayon level toward creating plans to ensure that by the year 2000 every family will have its own well-appointed apartment, why the rayon often overlooks failure to keep on schedule with the construction of, for example, health care facilities, why only lackadaisical efforts are being made toward resolving many other problems pertaining to social development.

And on this point it was difficult for N. A. Kutkovetskiy to justify his actions. Excuses like "they didn't give us..." or "they skipped us..." do not wash today. For a raykom the social and consumer-related realms are by no means of secondary importance.

The raykom first secretary was also given pause by this question:

"In your account you somehow failed to mention ideological work. What has been restructured in that area, and how?"

"Quite honestly," said N. A. Kutkovetskiy after a moment's pause, "for a long time we thought that we had everything in order in that respect. We were basing that assumption upon the numbers of people who were being reached by various events, how attentively we were listened to at, for example, unified political days. And only in the course of the rayon inspection which preceded today's account did we realize how superficially we had appraised the effectiveness of our ideological work; it became clear that it had sometimes not had at all the effect which we had intended. This is due to the fact that it contained a large element of formalism, and due to our wholesale approach to such work."

Indeed, there is still plenty of formalism in the rayon's ideological and political-educational work, and sometimes also simple misunderstanding of the essence of the forms which are being utilized. Take for example the sort of oral political agitation mentioned above. It was discovered, for example, that neither the appropriate party committee division nor the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov (the party organization primarily responsible for ideological work) knew what agitators were supposed to be doing. Agitators themselves often limit their work to reading newspapers aloud. There is also a great deal of formalism in propaganda lectures. In the system for Marxist-Leninist education an unusual wholesale approach is also prevalent: there are some study groups with as many as 60 participants. Obviously no one was thinking about effective instruction when those groups were organized.

No doubt about it, since the April Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress there has been more talk in the rayon about attention to the individual. There have also been efforts to put that talk into practice. But sometimes there is a lack of ability to do so. In this area as well the raykom and its primary party organizations must restructure, restructure, and restructure. It is an encouraging sign that already during the course of preparation for its account to the Buro some things have begun to change in Floreshtskiy Rayon's ideological work. It is said that the rayon's "Peace Relay" was conducted in an interesting and emotional fashion, in a way that touched people's spirits.

At more than one point during discussion of the Floreshtskiy Raykom account at the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro meeting the importance and special responsibility of this branch of the party -- rayon committees -- was underscored. A great deal is depending on them today: above all, the success of restructuring and the pace at which it will proceed. It is precisely on this level that the party's guidelines will be translated into a stream of concrete actions which should create progress. Discussion of this account, it should be reiterated, went beyond analysis of the operations of a single raykom, because much of what that account contained is typical of all party committees in our republic. Hence this conclusion: today every gorkom or raykom must analyze its operations and its work toward restructuring from the same standpoints as those according to which this account by the party's Floreshtskiy Raykom was considered.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN CC REVIEWS DEFICIENCIES IN PUBLIC HEALTH SECTOR

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 10 Feb 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Moldavian CP has discussed the topic of "Concerning the Work of the MSSR Ministry of Health With Regard to Fulfillment of Party and Governmental Decisions Pertaining to Early Childhood Health Care."

In the resolution which was adopted it was noted that the MSSR Ministry of Health (Minister K. A. Draganyuk) has been slow in restructuring the style and methods of its operations in accordance with the guidelines laid down by the 27th Party Congress and the requirements of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, has not taken exhaustive measures to carry out party and governmental decisions concerning improvement of health care for mothers and children, and is permitting unnecessary red tape, irresponsibility and serious shortcomings in the operations of its maternity and children's medical facilities. The ministry apparatus is a prisoner of statutes and instructions, and continues to operate out of inertia. All that is having a negative effect on the level of health care for children, especially small children. Childhood morbidity and mortality rates remain high.

The unsatisfactory situation which has arisen in the area of health care for mothers and children is the result of the fact that the Ministry of the Health lacks a comprehensive, scientifically-based approach to resolution of issues pertaining to the organization of medical and sanitary assistance to women and children, and of the irresponsible attitude of certain administrators and medical personnel towards preservation of the life and health of the next generation. Flagrant violations are being allowed to occur in the performance of preventive measures, treatment and diagnosis. In maternity and children's clinics proper sanitary and anti-epidemic practices are not being followed.

The Ministry of Health is working inadequately to train, educate and give advanced training to cadres and has not taken all possible measures to supply maternity and children's clinics with all the medical personnel which they require, particularly in rural areas. In our republic there is a shortage of over 500 pediatricians and approximately 150 midwife-gynecologists, and this

is having a negative effect on the quality of health care for women and children. There are frequent instances of doctors and other medical personnel carrying out their professional duties in an unsatisfactory manner, taking a casual attitude toward their obligations, demonstrating inattentiveness, rudeness and callousness toward patients and their relatives, making errors in diagnosis and treatment, and not rendering medical assistance in a timely manner or in adequate amounts.

The material and technical base of maternity clinics and children's treatment facilities is weak. Over 50 percent of all maternity ward beds in rural areas are located in makeshift buildings and are poorly supplied with medical supplies and equipment; this often leads to the introduction of intra-hospital infections.

The scientific agencies of the Ministry of Health and the Kishinev State Medical Institute are not doing enough research in the area of health care for mothers and children. Scientists are not conducting far-reaching or thorough studies on the causes of high rates of childhood morbidity and mortality or on the most commonly encountered anomalies in children's physical development. Too few scientific studies and recommendations are being prepared on ways to improve the organization of pediatric and maternity services by taking into consideration the special social and economic characteristics of our republic.

The party bureau of the Ministry of Health (A. N. Kondyrev, secretary) has not been sufficiently active in conducting organizational work to improve the apparatus' operations and raise its level of responsibility for finding solutions to the problems faced by the health care sector. On this point there is a lack of personal demands on communists; criticism is often not directed at specific individuals and fails to evaluate thoroughly the true state of affairs.

There are still many places where sound, rational nutrition programs for children have not yet been established, and this is having a negative effect on children's physical development and is exacerbating the spread of childhood diseases.

The requirements contained in a resolution by the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the MSSR Council of Ministers entitled "Concerning Measures to Improve the Organization of Child Nutrition in the MSSR" are not being carried out fully. MSSR Gosplan, the State Agroindustrial Committee [Gosagroprom], the ministries of trade and health and the ispolkoms of city and rayon soviets of people's deputies have not taken exhaustive measures to produce food items intended for children or to supply them to children in the necessary volume or assortment, and have not strengthened the material and technical base of milk kitchens. During the 1985-1986 period there were plans to renovate and expand 59 central milk kitchens; actually, such work was done at only 13 of them. Of the 39 model milk kitchens which are supposed to be built in 1987 only seven are actually under construction. The goals contained in a resolution concerning the organization of city milk combines (plants) and the creation of special shops for the production of milk products for children are not being achieved. Our republic is extremely poorly supplied with canned and bottled fruits and vegetables for children; the demand for such products is being met

by only 20 percent.

MSSR Gosplan and Gossnab have not taken steps to provide children's furnishings for maternity clinics and children's treatment facilities. In this respect the republic Ministry of Health has also not demonstrated the necessary initiative and persistence.

Serious shortcomings are occurring in the construction of maternity and children's facilities. The Ministry of Construction, the Agroindustrial Construction Trust, Gosstroy, the republic Ministry of Health and the ispolkoms of rayon- and city-level soviets of people's deputies are failing year after year to utilize all the capital investment funds allocated to them for this purpose. During the 11th Five-Year Plan a total of 6.6 million rubles of such funds remained unused, and for 1986 this figure was 1.5 million rubles. Such construction is poorly supervised; many projects are being put into use with serious deviations from the original plans, and the quality of construction work is poor. MSSR Gossnab is supplying facilities under construction with needed equipment irregularly and inadequately.

Our republic ministries and departments, the ispolkoms of city- and rayon-level soviets of people's deputies, trade union organs and the administrators of economic organizations and enterprises are not taking decisive steps to provide women with proper working conditions as required by law; this is resulting in a high rate of illness, stillbirths and premature deliveries.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has sharply pointed out to K. A. Draganyuk, MSSR Minister of Health, and Ye. A. Saranchuk, deputy minister, their unsatisfactory work with respect to the organization of medical assistance for children in the first year of life and implementation of party and governmental decisions pertaining to health care for mothers and children. The Central Committee has also demanded that the heads of the ministry take effective measures to restructure the style and methods of operation in their apparatus in accordance with the requirements of the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It has been proposed that they draw up and submit to the MSSR Council of Ministers a scientifically-based program designed to raise substantially the level and quality of medical and sanitary services for women and children, to promote further strengthening and rational distribution of maternity and children's medical facilities and to supply them with the necessary skilled personnel, supplies and equipment.

MSSR Gosplan, the MSSR Ministry of Health and the Kishinev State Medical Institute are obligated to take concrete steps to increase admissions to the Department of Pediatrics in order to ensure that there will be a greater number of pediatricians available to serve the needs of children's preventive and treatment facilities, and to raise the professional level of medical personnel, with an orientation toward mastery of the latest advances in medical science and technology and advanced methods of treatment. It is essential that scientists' efforts be concentrated on thorough study of the causes of the high rate of childhood morbidity and mortality and on swift and efficient utilization of the findings of scientific research in day-to-day health care practice.

The party bureau of the MSSR Ministry of Health (A. N. Kondyrev) should strictly monitor the operations of its apparatus with regard to implementation of party and governmental decisions concerning health care for women and children. The bureau should ensure that communists play a vanguard role and direct party-political and organizational work toward increasing the responsibility of ministry personnel for finding solutions to the question of how to improve public medical services, especially as concerns protection of the health of mothers and children.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, the MSSR Ministry of Health and party, trade-union and Komsomol organizations at medical institutions should take effective measures to improve their educational work with collectives of medical personnel, strengthen discipline and raise cadres' level of responsibility, ensure good organization, order, precision and swift, skillful operations, and resolutely work to eradicate instances of a callous and careless attitude toward patients. They should also raise the level of party organizations' guidance at treatment facilities and be bolder in promoting personnel who are experienced, able to think creatively and take initiative to serve in administrative positions at medical institutions.

The ispolkoms of city- and rayon-level soviets of people's deputies and our republic ministries and departments should make efforts to gain widespread participation by industrial and construction-related organizations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the establishment of model order at currently existing maternity clinics, children's hospitals and clinics and women's clinics and in providing them with needed equipment.

The Moldavian Trade Unions Council and ministries and departments have an obligation to require administrators of economic organizations and enterprises to take specific steps to provide women with proper working conditions as required by law, set up special shops and sections to provide reasonable employment for pregnant women and put a stop to instances of their being assigned to work on tobacco plantations and under other harmful working conditions.

The attention of the MSSR Ministry of Construction (P. S. Mikhnevich), the Agroindustrial Construction Trust (Yu. N. Zinovyev), the Ministry of Health, party gorkoms and raykoms and gorrayispolkoms was directed to the inadmissibility of failure to meet plan goals for the construction and completion of health care facilities. It is essential that they change their cadres' attitude toward the building and outfitting of such facilities, and that they ensure that such work is done strictly within established time limits and in the required volume, and that all projects planned for the current year are completed and ready for use by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

MSSR Gosplan, Gostroy, Gossnab and the Ministry of Health have been assigned the task of substantially improving the planning and design process for the construction of health care facilities and taking steps in the direction of reliable provision of needed materials and equipment to such projects.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has requested Gosplan (V. G. Kutyrkin), Gosagroprom (V. A. Protsenko), the Ministry of Trade (V. G. Bobutsak), the Ministry of Health (K. A. Draganyuk) and the Moldavian Union of Consumers' Societies (K. A. Melnik) to ensure absolute fulfillment of the plan goals outlined in a 14 May 1985 resolution by the Moldavian CP Central Committee and the MSSR Council of Ministers entitled "Concerning Measures to Improve the Organizations of Child Nutrition in the MSSR" relative to renovation, expansion and new construction of central milk kitchens, the establishment of special shops for the production of children's milk products at city milk combines (plants), production of canned and bottled fruits and vegetables in a volume and assortment sufficient to better meet our republic's needs and the sale of such products to the public. They should also take steps to speed up the completion of capacities for the production of canned and bottled children's foods at canning plants in Bendery and Orgeyev.

It is proposed that MSSR Gosplan, Gosagroprom and Gosstroy made provision in their annual plans for the socioeconomic development of our republic for a sufficient increase in allocations to cover the design and construction of the health care facilities mentioned in resolutions by the Moldavian CP Central Committee and MSSR Council of Ministers entitled "Concerning Urgent Measures to Improve Medical Services for the Rural Population of the Republic and to Strengthen the Material and Technical Base of Rural Health Care Facilities," "Concerning Measures to Improve the Organization of Child Nutrition in the MSSR" and "Concerning Measures for the Further Improvement of Health Care for Women and Children in the MSSR," utilizing for these purposes additional funds amounting to 10 percent of the total volume of capital investment funds earmarked for the development of production.

MSSR Gosplan and Gossnab and the MSSR Ministry of Health have been assigned the task of defending more aggressively before our country's planning organs the requests of our republic that maternity centers and children's medical facilities be provided with furnishings, medical and sanitary equipment, specially-equipped vehicles for the transport of newborns and premature babies, and materials for capital repairs on existing maternity and children's facilities.

It is recommended that Gosteleradio and the editorial boards of republic newspapers, together with the MSSR Ministry of Health, systematically report on issues pertaining to ways to raise the public's level of sanitation, promote knowledge of sanitation and hygiene, prepare young men and women for family life, and educate people about child health care.

Gosplan and the MSSR Ministry of Health have been assigned the task of submitting to the MSSR Council of Ministers a proposal for the establishment of a republic institute for the protection of mothers' and children's health, and of realizing that goal through the appropriate channels.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN CP CC RESOLVES TO STRENGTHEN LAW, ORDER

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 15 Jan 87 p 2

[Unattributed article entitled: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA introduction]

[Text] The Moldavian CP Central Committee examined the question on measures to implement the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order and the Reinforcement of the Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens."

In the decree adopted by the Moldavian CP Central Committee it was noted that, as was emphasized in the indicated document of the CPSU Central Committee, the realization of the policy aimed at the acceleration of socio-economic development, the democratization of all aspects of social life, and the increase of the creative activeness of the masses, is inseparable from the further strengthening of socialist legality and law and order, the securing of the reliable protection of the constitutional rights and legal interests of Soviet citizens, and the strict observance of the principles of social justice.

The measures of a legislative, organizational, and educational character, which have been developed and are being consistently implemented, measures which are aimed at the strengthening of the legal foundation of state and social life, socialist discipline, the eradication of inflated reporting and deception, the overcoming of drunkenness and alcoholism, and the intensification of the struggle against the extraction of unearned income, various violations of the law, and bureaucratism, the decree of the Moldavian CP Central Committee further states, are receiving the unanimous support of the workers and are conducive to the further development of socialist democracy, the strengthening of labor discipline, the increase of the efficiency of labor, the creation--around the violators of law and order--of the norms and rules of the socialist community and a situation of intolerance and general condemnation.

At the same time, as the results of the past open party meetings of the law enforcement organs of the republic show, which discussed the tasks emanating from the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order and the Reinforcement of the Protection of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens," the law enforcement practice and the work of party, Soviet, economic, law enforcement and other state organs and public organizations with respect to these questions are still not sufficiently

effective and do not fully meet the demands of the 27th Congress of the party and the subsequent decrees of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the daily practice of state and economic organs, serious deviations from the legal norms are frequently permitted, especially in the solution of questions that affect the vital interests of the citizens. Violations of labor and housing legislation, labor safety laws and safety techniques are widespread. There is unsatisfactory observance of the legislation concerning the struggle against infringements of state and public property, inflated reporting, deception, bribery, and other kinds of extraction of unearned income, drunkenness, alcoholism, drug addiction, and administrative violations of the law. There is no reduction in petty misappropriations of state and public property. Especially unfavorable is the state of the protection of socialist property in the system of Gosagroprom [USSR State Agroindustrial Committee], the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Consumer Services, the MSSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, and the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives. The total material losses in the system of the Moldavian Union of Consumer Cooperatives alone amounted to 12 million rubles in 1984-1985.

There are gross violations of the legislation on the struggle against crimes against the person. The level of criminal manifestations among minors remains high.

Serious concern is called forth by the fact that cases of gross violation of legality are permitted by workers of the law enforcement organs, who in terms of their official duties are called upon to guarantee the execution of the laws and to provide reliable protection of the rights of citizens. Still persisting are cases of the illegal detention, arrest, and the institution of criminal proceedings against citizens, unlawful methods of conducting an inquiry, violations of legislation during the preliminary investigation and court examination. Cases of unlawful action have been exposed in the past year in the work of the investigation organs of Sovietskiy Rayon in the city of Kishinev, the Nisporenskiy, Kotovski and several other rayons of the republic. A large percentage of the statements concerning crimes is solved with violations of the deadlines, and cases of the unfounded institution of proceedings and the cessation of criminal cases are frequent. The incident of the discovery of crimes is low.

Many violations of socialist legality are a consequence of the fact that the law enforcement organs (I. I. Cheban, G. I. Lavranchuk, V. S. Pushkash, V. M. Volosyuk), the gorkoms and raykoms of the party, the ispolkoms of the Soviets of People's Deputies, and the directors of the economic organs and public organizations, do not regard these questions as one of the most important and integral aspects of the restructuring that is being realized.

The Moldavian CP Central Committee has accepted the decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Legality and Law and Order and the Reinforcement of the Rights and Legal Interests of Citizens" for guidance and steadfast execution.

It was established that the party gorkoms and raykoms, along with the Soviets of People's Deputies, bear full responsibility for the state of legality and

law and order on the territory of the town and rayon. They are called upon to constantly direct and coordinate the efforts of party organizations, state institutions, law enforcement organs, and the public with respect to the eradication and prevention of any deviations from the requirements of the law and any type of actions infringing upon the rights of citizens, and to this end to make active use of organizational, economic, ideological and legal means. To devote unremitting attention to the legal education of the workers, to form in them a deep understanding of the unity of rights and obligations, a high civic spirit, respect for Soviet laws and the rules of the socialist community, and implacability toward any violations of socialist legality. To be constantly concerned about the improvement of the legal training of cadres and specialists, regarding this as a necessary condition for increasing their political culture and business skills. To cultivate in all Soviet people conviction in the fact that strong legality and conscientious discipline are an integral part of our democracy, the further development of which actively promotes the development of all aspects of the economic and socio-political life of [our] society.

The party gorkoms and raykoms were ordered to give a principled assessment and to subject to severe condemnation every case of the violation of legality, no matter by whom it was permitted, and to punish persons who are guilty of this with all severity. In so doing, it is necessary to persistently put into effect the demands of the Statute of the CPSU concerning the double responsibility of communists for violation of the law.

It was recognized as necessary to significantly increase the responsibility of the Presidium of the MSSR Supreme Soviet, all links of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the republic, their executive and administrative organs, for the strict observance of the laws by state institutions and economic organizations, by officials and all citizens, and for the guarantee of the maintenance of public order on the entire territory. To resolutely overcome any manifestations of bureaucratism and red tape, of a callous and bureaucratic attitude toward people and toward the satisfaction of their legitimate interests and demands.

The ispolkoms of city and rayon Soviets of People's Deputies are obligated to actively influence the activity of the organs of internal affairs and justice within their jurisdiction and to secure the systematic examination, in sessions and meetings of the permanent commissions and ispolkoms, in the labor collectives and at the place of residence, of the reports and communications of the executives of these organs. Unremitting attention must be given to the increase of the preciseness and high standards in the work of the notary's offices, the Bar, legal consultation centers, local subdivisions of the state motor vehicle inspection service, sector inspectors, patrol-point duty and passport services of the militia.

To persistently try to attain the reinforcement of the role of the organs of public control, as well as the comrades' courts, the voluntary people's patrol, the societies of the struggle for temperance, and other public organizations in the matter of strengthening legality and increasing the activeness of every Soviet citizen in the execution of his constitutional obligations with respect to the protection of socialist property and the public order.

To secure a fundamental reorganization of the work of the courts, the procuracy, the militia, and other law enforcement organs, in order for them to reliably

secure the defense of the interests of the state and the rights of the citizens, to conduct the struggle against violations of the law and crime with increasing effectiveness, to be closely connected with the workers, and to serve as a genuine model of the strict observance of legality.

The Central Committee Buro obligated the chairman of the MSSR Supreme Court, V. S. Pushkash, the prosecutor of the MSSR, I. I. Cheban, the minister of internal affairs of the MSSR, G. I. Lavranchuk, the minister of justice of the MSSR, V. M. Volosyuk, and the chief state arbitrator, M. M. Zinin, to be persistent in eliminating the shortcomings in the activity of the organs within their jurisdiction, to improve their guidance, to constantly perfect the professional training of personnel, and to increase in every conceivable manner the exactingness toward them for the irreproachable execution of their official duty. The party committees and party buros of the law enforcement ministries and departments must insistently raise the responsibility of the communists of the apparatus and the executive personnel for their personal contribution to the realization of the restructuring and the elimination of the shortcomings in the sectors entrusted to them.

To put a decisive stop to the manifestations of preconceived opinions, a biased approach in the conduct of inquests, preliminary investigations, and court examinations, red tape, callousness, and indifference to the fate of people. Cases of unfounded detentions and arrests, the illegal institution of criminal proceedings against citizens, the falsification of the materials of dossiers, and other unlawful methods in the course of inquests and investigations must be completely excluded from the practice of the work of the law enforcement organs. Every such case must be considered as an extraordinary incident, and a thorough examination with fundamental and strict conclusions must be carried out with respect to it.

To analyze and generalize on a regular basis the state of socialist legality in the territory being served and directly in the collectives being managed. To study the reasons and conditions that promote the violation of socialist legality and to take measures for their elimination. To discuss the results at party meetings and practical coordination and interdepartmental conferences. To inform party and Soviet organs, as well as labor collectives, on a regular basis about the state of legality.

The party gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations must strengthen the political guidance of the law enforcement organs, implement daily control over their activity, and increase the responsibility for the precise execution of the functions entrusted to them. In so doing, interference in the investigation and court examination of concrete cases, regardless from what side, must not be tolerated.

To show constant concern for the improvement of the selection, placement and training of cadres of the law enforcement organs. Rigorously see to it that, for work in the courts, the procuracy and the organs of internal affairs and justice, politically mature people are selected, who are irreproachable with respect to morals and who combine high professional training with civic courage, incorruptibility, and a heightened feeling for justice. To expand the practice of accepting staff members for work in the law enforcement organs on the basis

of assignment from labor collectives, party and Komsomol organizations. To tirelessly educate the workers of these organs in the spirit of a deep respect for the law, genuine humaneness, the selfless and disinterested service of the people.

To increase the militancy of the primary party organizations operating in the courts and the institutions of the Procuracy, justice, the State Board of Arbitration, and the subdivisions of the organs of internal affairs, and to direct them in such a way that they exert an active influence on the improvement of the work of the apparatus in regard to the observance of Soviet legislation and the execution of party and government directives, and that they give special attention to the strengthening of office discipline among the staff.

To regularly hear reports of executives and secretaries of party organizations of the law enforcement organs and to provide the requisite party assessment of the work being done by them in regard to the strengthening of socialist legality in the sector entrusted to them.

The MSSR Council of Ministers, the State Agroindustrial Committee, and the ministries and departments of the republic should steadily increase the responsibility of the directors of enterprises, institutions and organizations, inter-farm associations, kolkhozes and sovkhoses for the strict observance of state and contract discipline, labor legislation, laws for the protection of socialist property, for the struggle against inflated reporting, against the output of low-quality products, mismanagement and waste. Persistently seek to attain that the legal levers, departmental control, the personnel and legal services, and the entire law enforcement practice effectively help the development of socialist enterprise, the elimination of narrow departmental and bureaucratic obstacles that impede scientific-technical progress, that they become a strong force against everything that contradicts the principles of socialist management.

To bring proper order in the establishment of instructions and the issuing of orders of a normative character, to guarantee the conformity of departmental acts with existing legislation, and to revise obsolete provisions in good time.

To conduct the work in regard to the strengthening of socialist legality and order in conditions of broad publicity, with the active participation of the labor collectives.

To the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions, the republic trade union committees, and the primary trade union organizations, it was recommended to increase in every conceivable manner the activity in regard to the protection of the legitimate interests of the workers, the supervision and control of the observance of labor legislation. In the case of the cancellation of labor contracts on the initiative of the administration, to conduct thorough examinations of the validity of the decisions being taken. To manifest firmness and consistency in cases of the violations of the established order and not to permit the illegal dismissal of workers.

To increase the role of the technical and legal inspections of the trade unions in the improvement of the conditions of work and the observance of the norms of labor legislation. To involve activists from the milieu of the workers themselves on a broad basis in participation in their work.

It is necessary for the MSSR Academy of Sciences and the ministries of higher and secondary specialized education and justice to increase the level of scientific research, to work out more actively the urgent problems of strengthening legality, to strengthen the link between legal science and practice, and to improve the training of legal personnel and the system of legal instruction in the schools, vocational-technical schools, tekhnikums and VUZ's.

The MSSR Council of Ministers was charged with organizing general compulsory education in law with the executives of the ministries and departments, enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

To the editorial boards of the republic and local newspapers, journals, television and radio broadcasts, it was recommended to systematically illuminate the experience of the work in party, Soviet, economic, law enforcement organs and public organizations in regard to the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order and the use of legal methods in the reorganization of economic activity, and through their speeches to form a deep respect for law in people. On the basis of concrete examples, to convincingly show that the strict observance of the requirements of legislation answers both the interests of society as a whole and the interests of every Soviet person and is a decisive factor in securing law and order and in the stability of the rights of citizens. To regularly publish materials on the problems of the legal position of the individual in socialist society and to unmask the fabrications of bourgeois propaganda concerning the "violations of human rights" in our country.

The party gorkoms and raykoms, the Moldavian Trade Union Council, the Procuracy, the Supreme Court, the MSSR ministries of justice and internal affairs, and the State Board of Arbitration under the MSSR Council of Ministers must report on the work that has been accomplished in October 1987.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN BURO PUBLISHES PERFORMANCE RATINGS OF OFFICIALS

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 27 Feb 87 pp 1-2

[Text] The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro discussed and approved the character references of N.P. Kiriyak, MSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, M.S. Platon, Kishinev City Soviet of People's Deputies executive committee chairman, and V. V. Runkovskiy, Moldavian Communist Party Novoanenskiy Raykom first secretary.

N.P. Kiriyak's references indicated that in the areas of work entrusted to her she proves to be a competent specialist and an energetic, initiative-minded, conscientious and responsible worker. She is able to organize interaction and joint work in the collective and can deal with various types of people. She possesses thorough knowledge in the area of party and soviet construction and devotes much attention to perfecting the content and style of work of the soviets of people's deputies and upgrading the level of competency and practical skills of their cadres. With her direct participation in the republic, measures are being taken to improve the activity of cultural, public health care and social security departments and to implement reforms in educational institutions. She is diligent, principle-minded and demanding of herself and her subordinates, and is considerate of her comrades at work. She works hard to improve herself.

At the same time, the Central Committee Buro turned N.P. Kiriyak's attention to the fact that she is sometimes inconsistent in her activities and displays unnecessary caution when settling urgent questions. Her work style and that of her subordinate departments needs considerable improvement. Under the conditions of the ongoing restructuring, she must work harder to seek new approaches and make original decisions. N.P. Kiriyak is not sufficiently persistent in solving crucial problems in work with cadres, in mobilizing them to apply the achievements of scientific and technological progress and progressive forms of labor organization in industrial and social spheres, and in decisively eliminating abuses, extortion, protectionism, white-washing and figure-padding from institutions of science, public education, culture, health care and sports.

In approving M.S. Platon's references, it was emphasized that in pedagogical, Komsomol, soviet and party work he has devoted much attention to improving the quality of instruction and the upbringing of secondary and higher school

students, to training highly skilled cadres, to applying scientific achievements to production, and to safeguarding the health of the republic's workers. He has prepared and published a series of scientific works on this and other subjects.

Nonetheless, M.S. Platon was unable to implement the party's aims fully to restructure the work of local soviets under contemporary conditions and increase their role in carrying out a strong social policy. The lag in Kishinev's development in the social area remains significant, which gives rise to the people's numerous complaints. The city soviet executive committee is not fully utilizing possibilities for combining the funds of urban enterprises and organizations for the construction of housing and projects for sociocultural and consumer service use. His interaction with ministries and departments on these issues is inadequately thought-out.

M.S. Platon was selected as chairman of the Kishinev City Soviet of People's Deputies executive committee in 1985. Having much experience in leading party and soviet work, he persistently and energetically resolves questions concerning Kishinev's socioeconomic development and devotes daily attention to housing construction, strengthening the material and technical base for public health care, science and educational institutions, and improving the local soviets' work style. He is principle-minded and demanding of himself and his subordinates. He is purposeful, industrious, disciplined, and has a responsible attitude toward his assigned work.

M.S. Platon is insufficiently accessible and displays inflexibility in his opinions and sharpness with his subordinates. He must put original approaches into practice more boldly when resolving problems which arise. He should orient his work style to urgent matters and must listen more to the opinions of his deputies, garner the constructive thoughts and suggestions of subordinates and make his management activities more democratic.

It was noted that in all areas of economic and party work assigned to him V.V. Runkovskiy has proven himself to be energetic, an demanding leader, and capable of skillfully mobilizing people to achieve established goals. Jointly with other members of the Novoanenskiy Party Raykom Buro and the party aktiv, he has conducted a great deal of work on the moral purification and improvement of the rayon party organization, on stabilizing the rayon's economy and on creating an atmosphere of practicality, high exigency and goodwill within the rayon. He achieved the organization of a well-organized system for control over the execution of adopted resolutions and for rendering specific aid to labor collectives and economic managers in strengthening order and organization in all areas of work.

The work of the Buro, party raykom apparatus and V.V. Runkovskiy himself, particularly in recent times, is all the more oriented toward mastering new approaches to achieving established goals and toward intensifying the forms and methods of party and political work. The main accent falls on preventing failures in carrying out socioeconomic development tasks and violations of state, plan and contract discipline. Plans for selling grain, sunflowers and animal produce to the state were fulfilled by the rayon in 1986. The

established assignments for construction of education and public health care projects were significantly overfulfilled, and the planned commissioning of housing was ensured.

V.V. Runkovskiy's conscientious attitude toward his obligations serves as an example for cadres and the aktiv. He is irreconcilable to facts of deception of the state, slackness and connivance, negative manifestations, servility and toadyism. He reacts properly to criticism. He works without regard for his personal time, regularly visits labor collectives, strives to finish that which has been started, achieves the fulfillment of adopted resolutions and persistently eliminates existing shortcomings. He does a great deal to overcome the practice of substitution and the duplication of soviet and economic agencies, and he supports the initiative and undertakings of these agencies.

At the same time, the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro emphasized that V.V. Runkovskiy is still not fully directing the party raykom's work towards enhancing primary party organizations and volunteer units in matters of improving interpersonal relations and applying self-management within labor collectives. He must more persistently put into practice the party line on accelerated application in production of the achievements of science, progressive practice and new economic management methods, and on the shift to self-financing and self-recovery. He must strengthen the social enthusiasm of cadres, be more attentive to the requests and needs of war and labor veterans and youth, and should differentiate his approach to various types of people. Among V.V. Runkovskiy's shortcomings one could include verbosity, lack of restraint and inflexibility in cadre evaluations.

N.P. Kiriyak, M.S. Platon and V.V. Runkovskiy have good theoretical and professional backgrounds and take active part in sociopolitical life. They have all been awarded high state prizes. They have authority over the party, soviet and economic aktiv of the MSSR.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Buro considers it possible to make the following recommendations:

N.P. Kiriyak--secretary of the MSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium;

M.S. Platon--MSSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman;

V.V. Runkovskiy--MSSR People's Control Committee chairman.

The views of the primary party organizations of the apparatus of the MSSR Council of Ministers, the Kishinev Gorispolkom and the Novoanenskiy Party Raykom were taken into consideration in the character references.

N.P. Kiriyak, M.S. Platon and V.V. Runkovskiy agreed with the observations and recommendations concerning themselves.

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

MOLDAVIAN LAW ENFORCEMENT ORGANS CRITICIZED

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA in Russian 15 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by R. Avakov under the "From the Moldavian SSR Collegium of the Procuracy" rubric: "Let's Be Tougher on Ourselves"; first two paragraphs are SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIA introductory statements]

[Text] An expanded session of the Moldavian SSR Collegium of the Procuracy was convened yesterday in Kishinev. Those invited included supervisory personnel of law enforcement agencies in the rayons and cities of the republic, as well as from within the ministries of Justice, Internal Affairs, and other jurisdictions. The collegium made a complete review of the entire operation of the MSSR Procuracy during the past year. A report was delivered by MSSR First Deputy Procurator M. D. Plemedyale.

V. I. Smirnov, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, participated in the findings of the collegium, and also delivered an address.

"Reorganization efforts in the year following the 27th Party Congress," began V. I. Smirnov, "constituted an important stage in securing the objectives associated with the nation's increased socioeconomic development. Remarkable changes are taking place within Soviet society; a new moral climate is taking shape, and an ever-increasing emphasis is being placed on openness, candor and intolerance of deficits. A substantial contribution to this entire effort is being made by law enforcement agencies of the republic, among them the procurator's office.

"Last year saw an overall reduction in criminal activity--primarily due to a decline in felony offences. During the past year, for the first time, there was a rather significant reduction in the number of thefts of personal, state and public properties. Highway accidents declined by a fourth.

"The level of criminal activity in the republic does, however, remain high. This bears out the fact that fundamental change has not, as yet, taken place in the operation of law enforcement agencies.

"At the January (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, Moldavia was rightly criticized for large-scale deterioration of personnel and for violations of socialist law."

"Numerous cases of cover-ups, bribery, cronyism, the use of strong-arm tactics and disruption of job discipline," continued V. I. Smirnov, "have been poisoning the moral climate.

"The decisive factor in evaluating law enforcement personnel today is their attitude toward reorganizational objectives. This is why it is essential that a thorough professional-political certification be carried out on each individual. Each employee should obtain updated character references no less often than every year or two years.

"Unfortunately, the Collegium of the Procuracy has not yet become a body of collective leadership; as a rule, the resolutions they adopt are of a very general nature, and instead of developing specific courses of action, they expend their energy primarily on routine matters. The number of unsolved felony cases remains significant, as does the share of violations within law enforcement agencies themselves. Various official infractions, including unwarranted delays in the investigations of complaints, and the commission of crimes, have led to criminal proceedings being instituted, and disciplinary actions taken against a number of law enforcement officials--among them 12 procurators and inspectors.

"Bureaucracy, formalism and inertia persist in the everyday affairs of the procuracy. Its employees must take care that they diligently apply the law to all without exception.

"Let us take, for instance, the law which assesses criminal penalties for official cover-ups. It has, in fact, been in existence since 1961. But, it has been employed only by some of the most zealous prosecutors. Or, another example: there are also criminal penalties stipulated for such as non-fulfilment of plan with regard to contracted shipment of supplies, shipment of poor quality manufactured goods, negligence in construction projects, violations of natural resource conservation, and so forth. In actuality, virtually no one is made answerable for any of this.

"One notes the proliferating construction of every imaginable type of private residence, high-prestige 'guest' houses, wine cellars and gustatoriums, etc. Millions have been spent for the sole purpose of 'brightening' the leisure hours of officials. For the most part, this is now being put to an end. But attempts are being made in places to hang on to these 'leisure homes.' In addition, efforts to curb heavy drinking and alcoholism, as well as drug-addiction, have not yet been given the priority they deserve.

"Of the total number of crimes committed, three-fourths are somehow connected with the extraction of unearned income. For this reason, such offences as bribery, embezzlement, criminal speculation, and others must be dealt with more expeditiously than they are at present.

"Serious deficiencies can be found in the areas of crime prevention, detection and investigation, as well as in the methods designed to ensure punishment of the guilty. Last year, detection of crimes amounted to only 82.7

percent, while for larcenies, it was even lower--69 percent. Procedures employed in the conducting of investigations and inquests have also left much to be desired. There are glaring deficiencies in the way in which courts have been handling civil and criminal cases, which is another reason the supervisory powers of the procuracy must be increased.

"A very important part of the work of law enforcement agencies," stressed the second secretary, "is the process of following up on employee letters, complaints and calls. Here, again, too much procrastination and indifference has been tolerated.

"The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee paid particular attention to the need for strict adherence to Leninist policy regarding nationalism in employee relations, and called for a winning effort against the phenomena of nationalism and chauvinism, Zionism and antisemitism, jingoistic posturing and narrow self-interest--replacing them instead with internationalism. Here we have a wide area of application for the efforts of law enforcement agencies.

"The CPSU Central Committee has issued a decree titled, 'On the Strengthening of Socialist Law and Order, and the Safeguarding of Laws and Legal Interests of the Citizenry,' which bears enormous political significance. Efforts in this direction will have a direct effect on the successful implementation of resolutions handed down by the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as on attempts by the Party to accelerate socioeconomic development, democratize society in general, increase the constructive participation of the masses, and to shore up the principles of social justice.

"Yet another reason for negligence in the operations of law enforcement agencies is the fact that Party management does not always exercise the proper amount of control over them.

"The CPSU Central Committee January plenum made it incumbent upon the personnel of law enforcement agencies to work much harder to bring about a radical restructuring of their operations. The procuracy must focus its efforts on the most pressing problems it faces with respect to stronger enforcement of economic laws--the primary sphere of our concerns, and to the elimination of factors which interfere with increased economic development. It needs to draw self-critical conclusions from its errors of omission and miscalculation, and, making use of its positive experience, work tirelessly to improve upon the method and style of its operations. It must expand its reliance on its employees and improve communications with them.

"The period upon which our nation is entering," stressed V. I. Smirnov in his conclusion, "will be a serious test of political maturity, and workers in the procuracy are obliged to pass it with flying colors."

The collegium adopted a resolution which defined objectives for improving staff quality and educating personnel of law enforcement agencies, as well as for lifting the overall level of operations within the procuracy of the Moldavian SSR.

Taking part in discussion of the report were Kishinev Procurator V. D. Pener; Rybnitsa Inter-Rayon Procurator V. V. Sturza; Suvorovskiy Rayon Assistant Procurator N. G. Vaskan; Deputy Kishinev Transport Procurator V. N. Sidenko; deputy chief of the Investigatory Administration MSSR Procuracy, V. S. Balabkin; Teleneshskiy Rayon Procuracy Inspector V. I. Bazyuk; Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon Procurator I. I. Malyshko; and MSSR Procurator N. K. Demydenko.

Participating in the efforts of the collegium were MSSR State Security Committee Chairman G. M. Volkov; MSSR Minister of Internal Affairs G. I. Lavranchuk; MSSR Minister of Justice V. M. Volosyuk; MSSR Supreme Court Chairman V. S. Pushkash; division head of administrative organs for the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, L. A. Bolgarin; and the official representative of the USSR Procuracy, A. N. Kondratov.

9481

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PARTY AND STATE AFFAIRS

TUSSR OBLAST OFFICIALS ACCUSED OF VIOLATIONS, DECEPTION

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 18 Dec 86 pp 1,2

[Article by A. Yusupova, special correspondent of the newspaper SOVET TURKMENISTANY, and by I. Katryk and N. Sosnina, special correspondents of TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA: "Speak Frankly about Painful Things!: Notes from the 6th Plenum of the Mary Oblast Committee of the Turkmen Communist Party"; first paragraph is TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA introduction]

[Text] A regular plenum of the Mary Oblast party committee has discussed the problem of crude violations of party and state discipline, of incidents of padding, fraud, and deception of the state in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon and the tasks faced by the oblast party organization to eliminate them in light of requirements set by the 6th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

Everybody expected extensive and serious discussion of an oblast which has slipped into the final ranks with regard to all economic indicators and which is almost in first place in terms of number of crimes committed, parasitism, and various types of violations of party and soviet democracy. Some, as, for example, the chairman of the collective farm imeni 1 May in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon, Hero of Socialist Labor A. Charyyev -- in the hope of quick and clear changes.

Others -- with a fear that it will not be possible anytime soon to eliminate the deep roots of these negative phenomena. In the opinion of A. Byashimov, party committee secretary at the collective farm imeni Atabayev in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon, the main difficulty is that party members have reconciled themselves to many outrages, to theft, and to fraud. "They haul the grain to the storehouse, they don't complete required paperwork -- we see it all, but we are silent. The farms have no machinery, the productivity of animal husbandry is low -- and they waved it off," said A. Byashimov from the plenum's tribune. "Indeed, they didn't ask us anything. How can people be given back the feeling that they are the masters of the land, the sense that they are responsible for the fate of their collective farm?"

"We can achieve success only by working for it," opined K. Atanepesov, a brigade chief at the collective farm imeni Mollanepes in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon, "our state won't get richer from padding accounts. And what have we

been doing! The newspapers report that preparations for the upcoming harvest are being made in the rayon, but we, at the collective farm, are not even making plans. They have also lied about the readiness of equipment for the sowing and harvesting work. Will we learn to tell the truth?.."

Well, and for still others, the light of truth is detested and is not needed. There are, unfortunately, many of those who would like to keep the comfortable past, when it was possible, with impunity, to live in clover on somebody else's account. But the times are different now -- they are strict, they are correct, they demand motion, and the more completely we escape the fetters that bind us, the more rapidly we will move ahead.

This is why honest people, and they are in the majority, expected an openness from the plenum, a thorough-going party analysis, and the truth not only about those who have been flouting communist discipline, morality, and ethics and have been violating the law for years, but also about those who have contributed to, helped, and encouraged this. Was this the kind of truth that was heard at the plenum?

The address of the first secretary of the Mary Oblast party committee, Ch. Gedzhenov, to which the plenum participants listened with rapt attention, incidentally for the first time in the recent past, directly addressed the actual state of affairs in the oblast's economy. It has been developing much more slowly than has been indicated.

Funds are being used in an extremely unsatisfactory way in industry. During the past 5 years, they have grown by 71 percent, i.e. replacement has been almost complete, but production volume has increased only by 21 percent. Year after year, plans for capital construction have not been met.

A considerable part of Ch. Gedzhenov's report was devoted to the state of affairs within the agro-industrial complex, and this was not accidental. For a very long time, the region has been considered to be the most important supplier of fine-fiber grades of cotton. It was here that the first section of the Karakimskiy canal imeni Lenin was constructed, where the first state farms were built in the area of this man-made river, and where virgin lands have been assimilated.

But, for several years now, rural workers have not been meeting their plans for cotton deliveries to the state. This year, deliveries fell short by 79,000 tons. Milk production is falling. The number of livestock in the public sector is declining. Total costs of producing agricultural output are growing.

At the same time, thanks to fraudulent accounts, the farms, enterprises and rayons have managed to be listed among the successful ones. Fraud, deception and theft have assumed a massive character, the speaker noted, especially in the Vekil-Bazarskiy, Maryyskiy, and Turkmen-Kalinskiy rayons.

What has been happening in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon?

Just yesterday, the rayon was fulfilling its plans. And today, as if suddenly, unexpectedly, quotas have not been met for harvesting and delivering cotton to the state. Fifteen of 17 farms have reduced the amounts of cotton they produced, as compared to last year. At the Kommunizm collective farm, the amount fell by 74 percent and at the collective farm imeni Dimitrov -- by a total of 95 percent.

There were also, alas, no records achieved in livestock raising. To the contrary, cattle plague got worse. The average amount of milk obtained per cow is much less than the average indicator for the republic. The prime cost of beef, pork, wool, and eggs is such that they are almost not worth producing. Today the rayon's farms are bankrupt, yesterday they were flourishing.

The well-being of the rayon, as the speaker said, has been built upon deception. Since the 27th CPSU Congress and the 6th Turkmen CP Central Committee Plenum, deception has become dangerous -- and the image of well-being has exploded, and not only in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon. This year, in the recently thriving Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon, 10 out of the 14 farms which grow cotton did not meet the plan; it was fulfilled only by 78.5 percent. In Maryyskiy Rayon, they harvested 45,600 tons of raw cotton, as against a planned 66,200. Of 23 farms here, only one reached its plan quotas. The yield level of fine-fiber grades of cotton came to 13-15 centners in these rayons, while it is possible to obtain 30-35 centners per hectare.

Retribution has followed. For crude violations of party and state discipline, the first secretary of the Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon party committee, Sh. Orazmamedov, and the chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee, S. Cherkezev have been expelled from the party, removed from their posts, and will be recalled as deputies. For serious work deficiencies, violation of plans for cotton procurement, and lack of supervision, which led to incidents of padding and large-scale theft of socialist property, the first secretary of the Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon party committee, B. Ovezov and the chairman of the rayon soviet executive committee, D. Kyyasov were given severe reprimands, to be entered in their party records. The same severe punishment was given to Maryyskiy Rayon directors R. Dolyev and K. Ovezov. All of them have been removed from the positions they occupied.

However, when reporting on this to the plenum, the first secretary of the oblast party committee, Ch. Gedzhenov, in our view, was not entirely frank or entirely self-critical in uncovering the real state of affairs that has developed in the oblast. The thought occurs to us that the fall of people who, only yesterday, were being glorified orally and, alas, in the press, is only superficially sudden. The deep processes of their break-down did not occur all at once, but gradually. And not a small role in this was played by the oblast party committee, by the situation itself within the oblast, and by the traditions which have been developing for too long within the region.

And so, even as of yesterday, there were no black marks on the reputations of Orazmamedov, Cherkezev, Ovezov, and the others. Their personal files were full of laudatory fitness reports and recommendations. S. Cherkezev, if we are to believe evaluations of him, is business-like and high-principled and is

pointing the activities of the soviet executive committee and the local soviets in the direction of improving their mass-organizational work, of seeing to it that the demands of the voters are met, and so on and so forth. Literally, not long before the events we have described, the oblast party committee proposed that, in connection with his 50th birthday and for long years of irreproachable work in both party and soviet organs, S. Cherkezev be awarded the Certificate of Honor of the TuSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Can it really be that the oblast party committee was completely ignorant of S. Cherkezev's true face? It's difficult to believe. It had received a flood of signals and complaints about S. Cherkezev's inactivity. While chairman of the Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon soviet executive committee, Cherkezev lived in the center of the city of Mary, in a chic private residence, and had time neither for the rayon nor for its population settlements.

From the day that the rayon center was formed, for ten years, not a single house of culture, public bath, stadium, or any other social or cultural facility has been built at any collective farm. What was the chairman of the soviet executive committee being paid for?

The Chief of the oblast party committee's organizational department, V. P. Yevdokimov gently explained that "Cherkezev concerned himself with cotton." He concerned himself in exactly the same way as Orazmamedov: this year, not one of the 17 farms in the rayon managed to fulfill its plan for the sale of raw products to the state. For this, on 27 September of this year, he received his first and only strong reprimand at a meeting of the oblast party committee buro -- for cotton, let us emphasize, and not for having made a mess of the oblast soviet executive committee's work.

At the same time, Deputy to the TuSSR Supreme Soviet, Deputy to the oblast soviet, and member of the TuSSR CP Auditing Commission -- now, all in the past tense -- Orazmamedov also received his first and only reprimand, for cotton as well. The participants in the plenum had a right to expect frankness in the report. Indeed, not only Orazmamedov, Ovezov, and Dolyev, but also all other secretaries of rayon party committees and chairmen of rayon soviet executive committees knew that, if the rayon did not support and fulfill the plan, then they, the managers, would be pardoned for narrow thinking as well as for backward administration, for poor quality economic management, for shortcomings in party organizational and ideological work, and for trying to bury social, cultural and everyday problems in oblivion.

Traditionally, the oblast party committee pointed the rayon party committees in this direction. And the first secretaries strove to do it... The collective farms did whatever was needed to fulfill the plan, with no concern for the land and using it thoughtlessly and destructively, without taking care of their equipment, without introducing advanced farming techniques. They did not teach people.

The party and government have recently issued extremely serious resolutions, which make it mandatory to do everything possible in order to increase the efficiency of the agro-industrial complex. These are not being carried out. Inertia has maintained a death grip.

Production sank lower and lower, but the reports of the collective farms, of the RAPO, fairly burst with boastful entries. And, strangest of all, they believed them. The oblast party committee secretary responsible for agriculture, Yu. A. Arestov, the chairman of the oblast agro-industrial administration K. V. Privoznov, his deputy for mechanization Sh. Khomnadov, and others, made the rounds of the oblast more than once. They saw fields bald from underplanting, mountains of ruined fertilizers, and bent and broken equipment. They were also aware of the means being used under these circumstances to achieve "high results". Fraud.

It is difficult to believe that the comrades succeeded in shutting their eyes to this.

The term "concealment" appeared more and more frequently in reports and accounts from checks of the farms. They were concealing the numbers of cattle, along with feed and grain, from accounting and, thereby, were creating surpluses, a convenient base for misappropriation. In June of this year alone, inspectors uncovered hundreds of tons of lucerne, straw and coarse grains that had been concealed from accounting at the 1 May collective farm, the collective farm imeni Atabayev, the collective farm imeni Mollanepes, the 10th Five-Year Plan collective farm, the Vatyani collective farm, and the Moskva state farm in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon. In many rayons, they intentionally increased the size of surpluses of hay and distorted reporting concerning the growth of large-horned cattle.

The concealment of plantings of cotton from accounting assumed a chronic character. In Murgabskiy Rayon, 557 unreported hectares were discovered; 493 were found in Takhta-Bazarskiy Rayon, 401 in Bayram-Sliyskiy Rayon, and tens of hectares in Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon.

Swindling has not been confined to cotton growing and livestock raising. Incidents of padding have been found at practically all industrial enterprises and in construction organizations. They have assumed a really massive character. And did Orazmamedov really not know about this? What do they think about this in the oblast party committee? "The secretary was very businesslike," they say regretfully in the department for organizational party work, "only he has grown somewhat proud in recent times."

Meanwhile, the "businesslike" secretary, considering himself to be the sole master of the rayon, failed to pay attention to the views of collective farm chairmen and farm party committee secretaries, covered up criminal matters, and devoted himself to his favorite occupation -- to meaningless meetings. Why didn't they set Orazmamedov straight in the oblast party committee? For what reason did the other secretaries of the Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon party committee go along with such a work style?

Speaking at the plenum, rayon party committee secretary O. Kurbanakhatov lamented that "there was no Leninist truth in the relationships of the rayon's responsible workers." There also was none in other rayons in the oblast where, with the knowledge and connivance of the oblast party committee,

another style of human interrelationships, foreign to our society, took root -- one of subservience and uncomplaining obedience. They resorted to anything for the sake of momentary well-being.

Well, hollow glory went to some, while unearned but very real rubles -- hundreds, thousands and millions of them -- flowed into the pockets of others.

Cultivation of easy profits destroyed the community of interests in the countryside and trampled on the principles of social justice and of the distribution of wealth according to work. They didn't earn, but they received. From this, it is only one step to direct theft. The ground in Vekil-Bazarskiy rayon had been prepared for years for the illegal appropriation of the people's property.

"No instances have yet been uncovered when Orazmamedov acted for personal gain," notes the first secretary of the oblast party committee, Ch. Gedzhenov. But, on the other hand, the curve of crime crawled persistently upward in the rayon managed by Orazmamedov. The damage done to the state by thefts and by the destruction of socialist property is growing.

On 15 May of this year, a criminal case was initiated on the basis of shortages amounting to millions of rubles worth of raw cotton at the state procurement points of the Mary cotton-cleaning plant imeni Chkalov.

In the course of investigation, the farms in Maryyskiy and Vekil-Bazarskiy rayons were subjected to minute scrutiny. The shortages are a result of padded reports of cotton delivered. The chairman of the collective farm imeni Dimitrov in Vekil-Bazarskiy rayon, O. Atadzhanov, and later his successor, Sh. Atayev, passionately wanted to succeed. And, therefore, they made it clear to their brigade chiefs that they should list fictitious persons in their working-time accounts. They were directed to then hand the money allocated for these workers over to the chairmen. The brigade chiefs obediently carried out these instructions.

From 1983 thorough September 1984, Atadzhanov obtained 80,000 rubles in this way and, up until December 1985, Atayev was handed about 51,000 rubles on account of these "dead souls". In several installments, these amounts were given over, as bribes, to the classifiers at Procurement Point No. 7 in Khauz-Khan, and the latter signed and gave the representative of the collective farm, Khatdarov, fictitious documentation for cotton which had supposedly been delivered.

And in this way, Atadzhanov and Atayev, party members, deputies, and directors, now former, fulfilled the plan. For an inexcusably long time, the first secretary failed to notice the management style at the collective farm imeni Dimitrov.

Suspicious blindness also affected the chairman of the Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon soviet executive committee, Cherkezov, who didn't notice them stealing right before his eyes in the rural soviet.

A criminal group was at work at the Vekil-Bazarskiy petroleum base, literally under the nose of the rayon soviet executive committee and the rayon department of internal affairs (ROVD).

These and many other crimes are the price of a simplicity on the part of rayon soviet executive committee members which is itself worse than theft and in which, we confess, it is difficult to believe. The desire of the first secretary of the Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon party committee, B. Ovezov, to disown the improper affairs which have occurred in the rayon also strikes us as naive. About 3 million rubles were stolen at the Krasniy Oktyabr collective farm.

During the past two years, the people's controllers more than once informed the rayon party committee that something was wrong at the farm. On 23 May 1984, the chairman, D. Sopyyev, was reprimanded by the rayon committee of people's control (KNK) for unjustified overexpenditure of wages. In October instances of padding were detected in the procurement of feeds. In March 1985, the people's controllers warned about overexpenditure of meat for personal needs. In April of the same year, the auditors established that cattle worth 73,000 rubles had been written off with no justification.

People wrote to the rayon party committee. Checks confirmed the facts. But Sopyyev escaped with an insignificant punishment. Ovezov was taken care of by directors of a kind similar to himself. Ovezov himself, until recently, was on an extremely good footing in the oblast party committee and the oblast agro-industrial administration. Even today, in private conversations, they speak favorably of him in the oblast party committee.

The deputy chairman of the oblast agro-industrial administration, L. Orazmuradov "trusted" him and Sopyyev so much that, when auditing the financial activity of the Krasniy Oktyabr collective farm, he didn't notice any discrepancies. And exactly one month later, the Administration of Internal Affairs uncovered thefts amounting to millions of rubles.

Today's "traditions" have not become established within the oblast without the help of the Oblast agro-industrial administration.

The report revealed the following fact. In the beginning of this year, procuracy workers checked out the Maryzagotkhlopkomprom association and, in office desks, found 28 statements of audits carried out at cotton-cleaning plants from 1980 to 1984. According to these reports, the enterprises had overexpended more than 20 million rubles worth of raw products. This fact was concealed from the public; it simply was neither evaluated nor acted upon. Today, criminal cases are being investigated at a number of the cotton plants.

Willingly or unwillingly, the directors of the oblast agro-industrial administration have tolerated an extreme development of private farms, which at some point, instead of being subsidiary sources of income, have become the main one. The appropriation of collective and state farm lands without permission has become more frequent, but information on these cases also has not been transmitted to investigative organs.

Thousands of people have left the sphere of social production. In Vekil-Bazarskiy Rayon, for example, a total of 7000 persons, a small part of the work-capable population, took part in the cotton harvest. The land for dozens of kilometers around the oblast center is swaddled in the polyethylene of private hothouses. The plastic doesn't let the fresh air through, but, oh, how necessary this is for the land of Mary Oblast!

During the past 2 years in Kushkinskiy Rayon, publicly owned herds of milk and large-horned cattle have increased by 0.5 and 0.1 percent, respectively, while private herds have grown by 77 and 53 percent. State feed stocks are being used to keep about 5000 head of personal cattle at 2 farms belonging to the Kala-i-Mor state farm.

A private-property mentality has sprung up like a magnificent flower on the land of Mary Oblast, and the misdeeds (and crimes) dictated by it have become the norm in the lives of many people. A frightful picture is becoming apparent. Courage is needed to look at it and, finally, to say to ourselves directly: this is how we have been managing, how we have been living, and how we have been thinking. Difficulties of an economic character have long since spilled over into the category of ideological ones -- this what it is necessary to recognize.

We did not hear such recognition in the report. It is true that we were told about the punishments which the directors of the oblast agro-industrial administration and of Kushkinskiy Rayon have imposed. Oblast party committee secretaries Yu. A. Arestov, O. Aydogdyev, and others, were singled out for the serious deficiencies in their work. And, at the plenum, the question was also loudly asked whether former secretaries of the Mary Oblast party committee A. Aktayev and P.I. Babenko really did not know about the social and psychological atmosphere in the oblast and about the scandalous incidents of illegality there.

They knew. They could not have not known that, in particular, on the basis of these negative phenomena, people develop a habit of lying, a desire for personal enrichment, and a disregard of state and public interests.

The address of S.I. Orekhova, a member of the oblast party committee and a teacher at Sakar-Chaga Middle School No. 13, served as a ringing indictment. "I instruct children," she said, "I teach them good and reason. This is difficult; dishonesty hinders us at every turn. From the tribune of the August meetings, the directors of the oblast department of public education (oblonno) pathetically exclaimed, turning to us, that, so he said, they would not permit children to be kept for months in the fields or the study plan to be destroyed as a result. And immediately afterwards, they send the assignment -- the children will work and you, the teachers, will list these as study days in your journals.

"The children's knowledge is weak but, again, an order -- give them good grades. We give them."

Bitterly said, but true. More than half the pupils in the oblast do not achieve high progress results. Teaching personnel have given up expecting

better. During the past 2 years, 9 management workers in public education have been fired for financial violations and immoral conduct. In Iolotanskiy, Karakulskiy, Bayram-Aliyskiy and other rayons, directors have set up relatives and close friends in various positions in the schools.

Things are also in a bad way in the public health sphere. During the first 8 months of this year alone, of 9 chief physicians at central rayon hospitals, 7 have been removed. More than twice as many complaints have been received concerning doctors and middle-level medical personnel than during 1985.

Many workers of administrative and law enforcement organs and committees of peoples' control have been punished for intentionally shutting their eyes to disgraceful goings-on.

The managers even of trade union, Komsomol and other organs have been "inflicted" with fraud.

As they say, this can't go on. And the only real way to correct the state of affairs in the oblast is to develop soviet and party democracy, to listen, finally, to the voice of party members from local levels, which has been crying out all these years but which has been stifled in the same place, in the local areas.

Last year, the party members of the Kommunizm collective farm in Maryyskiy Rayon recommended that the administration fire a chief engineer, Khummedov, and a farm manager, Anapyuv, for serious omissions and for dishonesty. The administration did not react for a long time, but a year later has dismissed the farm manager. Khummedov is working as before.

The list of such facts is long. They testify to the weak role of the party committees and the party buros on the farms. Having forgotten their primary obligation -- to serve in the vanguard of the labor collectives, to implement the ideas of the party consistently, and to oppose all negative phenomena -- the party committees have been turned into executors of the will of the management directors, have placed themselves at the beck and call of the chairmen of the collective farms and the directors of the state farms. But, indeed, bringing together people on the basis of rank-servility -- this is a fiction, a mirage. True community develops only when a person recognizes his own social worth and when this, his worth, is recognized and respected by all. And it is in the direction of such a community that the oblast's party committees should direct their efforts.

A restructuring in this direction is taking place, as witnessed by this plenum of the oblast party committee. But, one wishes that this restructuring will be more rapid and effective and, for this, it is necessary, finally, to learn not to fear the truth. Analyzing the addresses by participants at the plenum, one senses that far from all of them have developed this ability. Not one of the speakers, while pouring criticism down upon former directors, even tried at the same time to give an assessment of the management style and methods of the oblast party organization today.

Let's look truth in the eye. Hundreds of rogues have lived in freedom in the oblast; many of them also feel themselves free today. For what reason?

For the reason that they are frequently covering for them, are using every possible means to free them from responsibility. In his address to the plenum, Hero of Socialist Labor I. Khodzhaelydyev, a senior press operator at the Mary cotton cleaning plant imeni Chkalov, was right: the thieving directors of the enterprise have been punished but, indeed, someone had proposed them for management positions and someone had been supporting them there. And this mess continues even today. For the position of plant director, the city party committee has nominated Chief Engineer B. Mammadov, under whom 1.2 million rubles worth of raw products were stolen.

A. Valiyev, the first secretary of the Mary city party committee addressed the plenum. Listening how richly he expounded upon unresolved problems, with a lacing of negative examples, one could think that the Comrade First Secretary is marching in step with the times, that he is self-critical, and so on.

One thing was missing from his speech -- an assessment of the contribution of the city party committee in correcting serious defects in the work of industry, in construction, trade, and in ideological organs. Evidently, this contribution is not great if, in Mary, the number of lagging enterprises is growing and if thefts are continuing.

And the first secretary is also advancing personnel on the basis of characteristics and qualities which are far from being Leninist. A. Ovedzhov, a member of the oblast party committee bureau presented the following examples. Several months ago, on the recommendation of the city party committee, one Atayev, a former store manager who had bungled his assigned duties, was named to the position of director of the city industrial trade organization. Atayev also made a mess of the work of the trade organization, but the city party committee returned him to his former spot. The director of the oblast petroleum products administration, Makhmudov, was closely defended from criticism, although thefts were systematically carried out at enterprises entrusted to him.

More than once, at the Mary factory for initial wool processing, they have stolen angora wool and camel hair worth millions of rubles. Former directors Veliyev and Atdayev padded an unbelievably large amount of production. Who do you think spoke up for the swindlers? The city party committee. Thanks to this, the court sentence has not been fully carried out to this day.

So, is A. Baliyev a proponent of restructuring, or not?.. According to our firm conviction, the opponents of restructuring include all those people who try to put incompleated construction projects into operation, who are engaged in padding, who are turning the land into a salty desert, and who are indifferent to the needs and cares of the Soviet people.

Today, the times belong to other people, to new approaches to organizing affairs. Honesty in large things and in small ones, honesty everywhere and at all times, must be established in our society. The decisions of the 6th Plenum of the Mary Oblast party committee must serve our times.

The chairman of the TuSSR Council of Ministers and TuSSR CP Central Committee Buro member, A. Khodzhamuradov, took part in the work of the plenum and presented an address. TuSSR CP Central Committee Buro member V. A. Kharkov participated in the plenum's work.

13032

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

PRAVDA ON 15 MARCH JOURNALISTS CONGRESS DEBATE

PM301305 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Mar 87 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "From Positions of Publicity. Sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress"]

[Text] Journalists' words acquire new strength and weight under the conditions of the restructuring which has been launched. Our dynamic time demands an innovative approach in grasping the changes occurring in all spheres of Soviet society's life.

How to raise the role of the press as collective organizer of restructuring, enhance professional skills, and find the right tone for the dialogue with readers and viewers--these questions are being keenly discussed by participants in the Sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress, which continued its work in Moscow 15 March.

The delegates' speeches enrich the palette of methods of journalistic quest and raise problems of great public importance.

Speaking of the new demands of restructuring, E.A. Araksman-Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Journalists Union board, noted that the criteria are constantly rising. Yet press items frequently lack seriousness, depth, and convincing arguments in the propaganda of advanced experience. Journalists must learn from life and from the party, they must improve professionally and morally. Anyone who does not want to learn will not be able to restructure himself.

Making specific proposals as regards cadre training, the speaker announced that the J. Fucik Young Journalists School has been operating in Armenia for 13 years now. Journalists, like sportsmen, must be trained while still at school. The speaker also dwelt on the problems of criticism and its objectivity, sharpness, and cogency.

A decisive restructuring of television, which, thanks to its unique technical potential, has become really all-embracing and omnipresent in our time, began after the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, which marked the start of profound restructuring in all spheres of our country's life. L.P. Kravchenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio

Broadcasting, noted. We strive to fully utilize the lessons in publicity taught us by the 27th Party Congress, and we boldly apply the methods of profound critical analysis of real processes. Emerging as an effective instrument of society's democratization, television is making increasingly active use of live transmissions which have the amazing quality of revealing people. At the same time, the speaker stressed, we still have not learned to converse with people openly and in a genuinely unconstrained fashion, and we still have not got rid of boring and didactic programs. The inadequate technical base and the shortage of talented and highly professional cadres have a painful effect on broadcasting.

On behalf of the foreign guests, K. Nordenstreng, president of the International Organization of Journalists, wished the Soviet colleagues great successes. He declared that publicity is having an impact not only in the land of the Soviets but also abroad. The more sincerity there is in the discussion of your own problems, the more trust other countries will start showing in reports of your achievements. And it has to be said that the Soviet peace policy will be taken increasingly seriously throughout the world. This can only be acclaimed as a new contribution toward the creation and strengthening of an international climate of trust.

We live in a difficult time, the speaker said in conclusion, which has made many people feel a sense of pessimism, mistrust, and apathy. And the dynamism with which Soviet society is presently developing is not just a topic of inspiration for journalists but also a source of optimism for work in a world which is approaching its 2000th year.

V.I. Kuzmichev, editor of the in-house newspaper MASHINOSTROITEL in Bryansk Oblast, emphasized that journalists' work has become much easier under present conditions. It is easier because party organs pay close attention to editorial offices' problems. The party bokom's press sector and the USSR Journalists Union oblast organization's board have introduced the practice of holding 3-monthly editors' days, which review the newspapers, take note of journalists' discoveries, and draw attention to errors. They are unfailingly attended by CPSU Obkom secretaries and other senior officials. Another important point is that the party gorkom and raykoms constantly include questions concerning the work of editorial offices in their plans. Moreover, a course of enhancing the militancy and effectiveness of newspaper reports has been embarked upon. This was said at a recent session of the CPSU Obkom Secretariat which heard a report from the party committee at one of the city's largest plants regarding its leadership of the plant's newspaper.

The question of journalist cadres, of who will replace the older generation, has been raised in the course of the congress, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Chief Editor G.N. Seleznev said. We constantly come up against this issue, and we are constantly unable to find in the Moscow State University guys who are worth inviting to the editorial office.

Ought we not to open the way for professional journalists to enter the faculties of journalism? I do not think that by conferring the title of lecturer or professor on Bovin or Rudenko we would be doing any worse than having Bondarchuk working with young cinematography workers. There would be no more boring lectures at classes. All students would gather in the lecture halls because there are plenty of journalists who have something to say to young people. It is most regrettable that the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has failed to respond to this suggestion.

The speaker spoke of the need to look at the young people's press through the prism of our young people's inward state, and also of the problems of the methods of admitting journalists embarking on the career to the party and enhancing their professional skills.

Speaking of the activity of the mass news media, S.A. Tarakanov, chairman of the Estonian Journalists Union Board, emphasized that the main cause of many shortcomings is the poor work and immaturity of journalists' primary organizations. After all, it is they that must carry out all work to educate cadres, especially young cadres, and enhance their professional skills. Addressing the USSR Journalists Union, the speaker suggested the creation of an amalgamated all-union video library to collect the best works by the country's television studios for subsequent broad exchange and utilization with a view to bridging the gap between the creative work of central and regional news organs, and television in particular. It is time to give some thought to the creation of a television news agency in the country to supply local television studios with current home news. This would help in applying colleagues' experience, and every one of us values even the tiniest contribution to the work on restructuring in all spheres of our life, the speaker noted.

The results of a poll of our readers show, V.M. Burlakov, editor of the city newspaper NOVOROSIYSKIY RABOCHIY, announced, that what annoys them most in the newspaper is incessant criticism without any subsequent changes for the better. They tell us: Stop throwing stones, and use them instead to build a new house.

How are we to build? Newspapermen in Novorossiysk are increasingly often the organizers of citywide discussions aimed at preparing decisions by local authority organs, dialogue between citizens and officials, competitions to fill official vacancies, and public monitoring of progress in fulfilling resolutions and statements by city leaders and readers' investigations published in the newspaper. The newspaper offers all citizens an opportunity to participate in summing up the results of competition between enterprises and institutions in the social sphere, and to have a say as regards bonus payments to transportation and food industry workers. This year NOVOROSIYSKIY RABOCHIY embarked upon the implementation of several long-term comprehensive targeted programs. They have all been planned in such a way as to make the readers not just observers of a clash between journalists and bureaucrats, but also direct participants in the struggle for a new city, for a new life.

R.O. Darbine, senior editor at the "Liesma" Publishing House, spoke in detail about the problems of organizing journalists' labor. We are still using archaic tools like notepads and ballpoint pens, she said. Only a chosen few have tape recorders. I would like to ask our designers and engineers: Since you are capable of producing electronic watches and cassette recorders, why can't you produce a lightweight, small, convenient tape recorder for journalists to use?

The speaker also paid attention to questions concerning the involvement of experienced and skilled current affairs writers in work on their own books. She suggested that they be given paid sabbatical leave to complete commissions from publishing houses.

PRAVDA Political Observer Yi.A. Zhukov dwelt on questions perturbing the detachment of international journalists, which may not be numerically the largest, but does bear a great political load. International life is now more eventful than ever. But the six-page PRAVDA devotes only two pages to international events. This is, of course, insufficient. Furthermore, space on these two pages must also be given to official material. The speaker suggested the creation of a special newspaper to publish all official documents on international and domestic policy. All countries have such publications.

An international observer, the speaker noted, needs in many respects to learn afresh, he must be bolder, and must learn to write concisely. And the main point is that a political observer must really keep his finger on the pulse of the epoch and raise the necessary problems.

The breath of the country's democratization can be felt at our congress. Publicity, truthfulness, and honesty are manifested in the speeches from this rostrum, Ye.I. Ryabchikov, current affairs writer and delegate to the First USSR Journalists Union Congress, said. It seems to me however, and this is distressing, that we have overlooked a most important aspect of our activity like the interpretation of history, and have altogether failed to touch on the theory of journalism.

Completing a questionnaire, V.I. Lenin wrote in reply to a question about his profession: Journalist or current affairs writer. Which of our textbooks, which of our works on journalism tell our young replacements that Lenin paid such enormous attention to newspapers, that Lenin was a journalist, and that the title of journalist ought to be borne aloft with responsibility?

The speaker emphasized that it is necessary to improve the education and party training of journalists, who will then be proper fighters for the conduct of restructuring, for acceleration, and for making life better and brighter.

Journalism makes enormous demands of us all. They concern knowledge, professional skill, total honesty, and active civic stance, and genuine heartfelt concern for everything occurring in our life, U.Sh. Orozova, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said in her speech. What is needed is profound belief in the communist ideals and faith

in the party program as one's creed in life. The slightest retreats from these demands result in mistakes and losses which take decades to correct and rectify.

Young people must know how hard, steep, and noble their chosen path of labor can be unless they exchange it for easy prosperity. The ability to be bold--this is what our journalists must be taught on a daily basis through the example of the wonderful lives of their fellow writers whose lofty professionalism is fused with equally lofty civic awareness.

Moldavia has become an open zone for press criticism, V.F. Stanev, chairman of the republican State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, said. The press, television, radio, and publishing houses play an active part in the work to improve the situation. Much is being done to affirm genuine party principles in our activity.

Today we are writing about restructuring on a large scale. It seems, however, that this work is largely carried out on an extensive basis. Anything that lies on the surface is picked up.

The power of the printed word is universally known, the delegate went on. And it is very important to utilize this power skillfully and sensibly. Excesses and weird leftist ideas [levatskiye zaskoki] which sometimes encroach upon human dignity are also encountered in some places.

The speaker said that much has been done in the republic to consolidate the material and technical base of rayon and city newspapers. But this process is being hindered by the lack of modern machinery and office equipment. The Journalists Union's leading organ must become more actively involved in the solution of these questions. It would also be advisable to ensure a deeper integration of journalists' efforts in expanding the process of exchange of experience in restructuring.

Delegates and guests of the Sixth USSR Journalists Union Congress visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall.

The congress continues.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

MORE ON 16 MARCH JOURNALISTS CONGRESS DEBATE

PM301409 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Mar 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "To Justify the Party's Trust"]

[Text] The Soviet press is becoming a powerful instrument for openness and the exercise of public control in the context of the further development of socialist democracy. The authority of the press in our society is growing stronger and journalists are playing an increasingly responsible role. Representatives of the country's creative collectives and discussing ways in which to fully justify the faith of the party and the people at the Sixth USSR Union of Journalists Congress, which continued work in Moscow 16 March.

Urgent creative problems are being discussed--how to make every item in the press and every television and radio broadcast more meaningful, profound, vivid, and pointed. The congress participants are exchanging experience and professional methods and jointly seeking ways leading to a qualitatively new standard of work.

Many of the speeches have contained specific proposals aimed at increasing the effectiveness of work by journalistic organizations and stepping up the activity of their elected organs. The discussion is not only important to journalists. After all, their attention is focused on the socially important problems of the economy and politics, culture, science, and morality, all spheres of life, and all the various changes taking place.

The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum showed quite clearly that the mass information media today play a most important role in the restructuring of our life, and the party has highly appraised the work of the central press, A.A. Belyayev, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, said. The time demands that everyone make a choice and demands action aimed at decisively rejecting everything preventing us from gaining a new quality of life. Far from everyone has realized that the aim of the restructuring process is to benefit them, and in this respect they must be helped immediately, have matters explained to them, and be inspired by party initiative.

The restructuring process is highly complex. Especially when we are talking about a phenomenon like art and literature, which have also been affected by the stagnation of our ideas. And the most powerful weapon in overcoming this stagnation is openness and only openness. The party, the speaker stressed, has placed great faith in journalists by instructing them to develop openness in our society. And we are bound to justify this faith.

E.P. Lukanskaya, editor of the Belorussian republican newspaper ZORKA, drew the audience's attention to the problems of the children's and youth press. Neither the report, nor the speeches, nor the other congress documents contain a single line about the press aimed at the growing generation. As if we did not have any young pioneer newspapers with a vast circulation covering the great tasks set by the party today. In fact, even the Journalists Union has no section uniting workers in the children's and youth press.

The training of cadres for young people's newspapers, the speaker noted, is another major problem. Children's journalists are usually treated with insulting condescension. We dream of a time when the universities will train correspondents devoted to children's topics, familiar with children's mentality, and capable of writing as if for adults, but even better.

Remarks and proposals on restructuring in the press and the activity of the USSR Journalists Union were made by N.I. Shabanov, chairman of the Saratov Oblast Journalists Organization Board. He emphasized in particular that the Union Secretariat and board have yet to become a creative center in line with the demands of restructuring. No systematic work is being done to sum up experience, and yet such experience has accumulated. There was, for example, a useful conference on oblast press coverage of questions of the party's social policy organized by the Saratov organization jointly with the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Department of Journalism. In the speaker's opinion, such meetings on topical questions of journalism and the restructuring of the press must be made annual events on a unionwide rather than regional basis, and the most valuable materials ought to be published as anthologies. The speaker noted that this would go a long way toward overcoming stagnation both in theory and in practice.

The speakers are not always keeping to the timetable [reglament], S.G. Nadzhafova, deputy chief editor of the journal AZERBAYDZHANSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA, said. Their speeches are interesting and emotional. And this is gratifying--the delegates have an impassioned desire to find their place and define their role in the restructuring that is now under way.

However, there are still very few sensible materials covering the progress of restructuring in production, the speaker believes: No matter how often you may repeat the word "toffee," you won't actually taste the sweetness. The cause cannot be furthered by empty words.

The subject of internationalism has frequently been touched on at the congress. It must be said bluntly that its coverage of it has been superficial. There are too many general words in the press. The time demands of the press that

it concentrate its attention on man's spiritual world and display more vividly our ideological and moral values. After all, the people are the main protagonists.

The speech touched on social and consumer service problems and questions affecting the activity of women's councils.

A topical speech was delivered by V.A. Alekseyev, chairman of the All-Union Commission for Problems of the Worker and Peasant Correspondents Movement. He emphasized that from time to time republics, krais, and oblasts organize congresses, conferences, and rallies, there are universities and colleges for worker and peasant correspondents, M.I. Ulyanova prizes are awarded, and dissertations are defended. At the same time, however, negative phenomena are also to be observed on a large scale: Worker and peasant correspondents are squeezed out of editorial offices and public correspondents are persecuted for criticism. The worker and peasant correspondent movement relies mainly on veterans and contains extremely few young people or women. This movement now needs fundamental restructuring.

On the commission's instructions, the speaker proposed that the draft congress resolution and statute include a provision for collaboration between the Journalists Union and the worker and peasant correspondent movement, and supported the proposal that an all-union congress of people's correspondents be held in Moscow.

L.A. Voznesenskiy, political observer with the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, talked about journalists' responsibility for restructuring and acceleration. Our task is to ensure that the party's ideas are conveyed to every individual, he said. What is more, these ideas must be put into practice. For this to happen we must probe to the heart of phenomena, be capable of socioeconomic analysis, and understand the trends and processes taking place in society. We must consolidate these positive changes by our words and actions, because if we ourselves do not grasp the restructuring process and demonstrate it we will not help this process at all.

It is only on the basis of economic change in society that the colossal political changes which have recently taken place can be consolidated. If this is to happen we must all learn a great deal, irrespective of the degree of knowledge and work experience we already possess to different extents.

The report by the USSR Journalists Union Board and the speeches by congress participants make a profound and critical analysis of the present stage of journalism in our society, G.N. Kalandarov, chairman of the Tajik SSR Journalists Union Board, said. We cannot but agree with the conclusions that remarkable changes have occurred in the Soviet press during the period of restructuring. Today the republican press, television and radio have started raising topical subjects, criticizing negative phenomena, and exerting influence on public opinion; they are promoting the idea that changes depend primarily on each person.

The speaker noted in conclusion that the revolutionary process which is now under way throughout the country not only improves society but also restores honesty and order and has a serious effect on the mass news media.

If we are to judge by our congress, A.S. Pyanov, chief editor of KROKODIL, observed, there is no such genre as satirical journalism in our country. But it is a fact that more than 10 million copies of more than 20 political satire journals are published monthly in the union and autonomous republics. The aim and object of political satire in the restructuring period is clear and definite. Have the naive idealists and faint-hearted individuals for whom any restructuring is like a sharp knife really disappeared from our lives? Surely we still have spiritual and economic backwaters where footwear is manufactured which no one can wear, television sets are produced which no one can watch, and newspaper copies are destroyed because they contain articles not to someone's liking? All this and a great deal more is the object of political satire and humor. The party, which rightly considers satire to be one of the most important instruments in the restructuring process, uses this to teach people to open their eyes. Underlining this idea, the speaker dwelt on the tasks now facing the country's masters of satire.

Much attention was paid at the congress to the work of rayon newspapers. And this is as it should be, L.G. Avramenko, organizing correspondent of Kursk Oblast's Zheleznogorskiy Rayon radio broadcasting, noted, because the rayon link is the most important sector where the fate of restructuring is decided. Local radio broadcasting pursues a common cause with rayon newspapers. But almost nothing has been said about its problems.

There are quite a few organizers of rayon radio broadcasting--more than 3,000 of them. Hitherto, however, rayon radio editorial offices have been the poor relations of newspapers, communications centers, and television and radio broadcasting committees. Hence the inadequate material base, the shortage of highly skilled cadres, and the mass of other problems.

The speaker suggested that a radio broadcasting section should be set up under rayon newspapers and that both newspaper and radio journalists work on preparing press and radio materials. This would also resolve a material issue: Radio organizers still work without fees.

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MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA

PRAVDA EDITORIAL ON ROLE OF PRESS CRITICISM

PM111000 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Mar 87 First Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Criticism in the Press. How Well Argued It Is and How People React"]

[Text] Criticism and self-criticism, it was noted at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum, are a tried and tested instrument of socialist democracy. Criticism helps us to work and live better. It helps to improve our work and reveal and utilize reserves.

The Central Committee plenum supported the efforts of the mass media to develop criticism and self-criticism in our society. The course of expanding openness set after the 27th party congress has considerably stepped up the work of journalists and their efforts both to propagandize leading experience and to analyze negative phenomena comprehensively. Today virtually no issue of a newspaper or journal comes out without a critical item, and criticism is ceasing to be a rare commodity on television or in radio programs. As a rule attention is focused on the most fundamental, urgent problems, whose resolution determines the successful development of the economy and the social sphere and the effectiveness of communist education.

On what questions are critical items in our press especially important today? First and foremost, there is the slowness in restructuring party and economic work which is observed in a number of places. Insufficient concern for people and for their working and living conditions is another. And violations of the norms of our morality, socialist democracy, and discipline are another. The monitoring of fulfillment of the year's plans and pledges requires keen attention.

The topicality of the subject is an important condition of effective criticism. But not, of course, the only one. Great significance is also attached to such requirements as truthfulness, substantiation, and a well argued case. Criticism from any platform, but especially in the press, is a very responsible matter. Here sweeping assertions and approximations, misrepresentations of facts, and other deviations from the truth are impermissible. We must not get involved in sensation-seeking and the quest for "processed facts." Accuracy and correspondence with life are the immutable Leninist rules of our journalism.

Criticism is a warning of trouble which requires the adoption of appropriate measures. So an extremely important question is: What follows such a warning? What is the reaction of the leadership organs locally?

The most correct answer to press criticism is concrete action and real efforts to eliminate shortcomings. For instance, the Belorussian republican newspapers regularly analyze the work of party committees. Recently detailed materials have appeared in their pages about the progress of the restructuring, the initial experience, and the shortcomings in certain raykoms' activity. These criticisms were given principled support by the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee. The measures adopted helped to markedly improve the state of affairs.

However, this is not, frankly, what happens everywhere. Criticism is still not infrequently seen not as an aid to the cause, but only as a rather annoying factor which spoils the mood. Even today, when you would think all the "i's" had been dotted.

One constant concern of party committees is to ensure the high effectiveness of its items in the local press. The correct action is taken where the most important critical articles are monitored by the obkom, gorkom, or raykom and where they see what measures are taken and call to order those who do not react in a businesslike way to criticism. All this increases the prestige of the press and makes people view its materials attentively and with respect.

Of course, the level of criticism in the press depends directly on how things stand with criticism and self-criticism in local party organizations, party committees, and bureaus.

And what if the party committee is indifferent to how criticism operates? What if it does not call bureaucrats, formalists, and the perpetrators of purely formal replies to account? Many valuable, topical materials are thereby negated. Words are in effect devalued. And people gradually begin to grow accustomed to the idea that words need not necessarily be followed by deeds.

Yes, the critical voice of the press and its effectiveness depend largely on what conditions are created for it by the local leadership. But journalists themselves are also called upon to display greater persistence in the struggle for concrete results in their work. What happens sometimes? They begin a good campaign, but, without taking it through to its conclusion, they abandon it halfway. A formal response, a verbal reply is received, so they are reassured and regard the matter as closed. And this at a time when they should be literally flinging themselves into the struggle and seeking at all costs an improvement in affairs in a given sector.

The work of intercity buses gives rise to many complaints from residents of and visitors to Volgograd. The editorial office of the newspaper VECHERNIY VOLGOGRAD decided to get to the bottom of it and find out what is happening. In conjunction with the people's controllers and State Automobile Inspectorate inspectors, a wide investigation was carried out, and the newspaper reported

the results. Its report was discussed at a session of the city people's control committee. But the journalists did not consider the matter closed. They went round many bus routes again, and saw that there had been no substantial changes. Then the newspaper told readers its decision: to keep motor transport in the focus of editorial attention until such time as proper order is imposed. And that is the only correct decision! That is how our press should operate—consistently, persistently, and patiently—when it is a question of eradicating shortcomings.

It is important to inform readers, listeners, and viewers as concretely and promptly as possible about measures adopted on the basis of critical materials. Rubrics designed for this purpose should be regular. And, of course, it is necessary to report in good time who does not react to criticism or sends only formal replies. Both openness and principled assessments are needed here.

Journalists can do much. But it must not be forgotten that their actions will be far more effective if they really use the army of voluntary assistants—worker and rural correspondents and nonstaff correspondents. The wider the editorial aktiv is, the greater its strength. Investigations, posts, and other tried and tested forms of mass work yield tangible results. There should be more attentiveness toward the editorial mail and it should be used more frequently in the pages of the newspaper or journal and on radio or television broadcasts.

The party sees the press as an active participant in the restructuring. We cannot and must not have any zones that are closed to criticism or people protected from it. Let businesslike, principled words of criticism ring out with even greater force. Sweeping aside any obstacles in our path and promoting the acceleration of society's socioeconomic development.

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HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

RESTRUCTURING COMPARED WITH EARLY SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 2, Feb 87 (signed to press 15 Jan 87) pp 3-11

[Article by L. Gordon, E. Klopov, and T. Petrov (deceased): "New Technical Restructuring: Contemporary Problems In Light of Historical Experience"]

[Text] The core of the transformations taking place in our country today is composed of the all-round technical restructuring of the national economy on the basis of acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the reorganization of the national economy that is associated with this. This is a most important area of the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development that was developed by the 27th CPSU Congress and is called upon to radically update the Soviet society and impart the necessary dynamism to it.

Tasks of this scale and historic significance were raised in this country for the first time after the era of the prewar five-year plans, when restructuring of production was regarded as a necessary stage in the construction of the foundations of socialism. Setting forth such tasks means that we are dealing with a principally new stage in the development of productive forces that requires new forms of economic regulation. "Today's processes," noted M. S. Gorbachev, "cannot be made to fit into old formulas. It is necessary to develop new conclusions that reflect the modern dialectic of life." And to do this, in our opinion, it would be useful to compare the most important changes earmarked by the party, mainly technical restructuring and reorganization of the economic mechanism, with what has taken place in preceding stages of socialist construction.

Of course, this is only one of the possible approaches to the analysis of historical experience. In our opinion, it makes it possible to explain more convincingly the peculiarities and tasks of the modern stage of socialist construction. With such a historico-sociological comparison one can see clearly the objective difference between today's and preceding stages and it becomes obvious how necessary it is to restructure all aspects of social life in an essentially revolutionary way.

1. Technical Restructuring During the Period of Socialist Industrialization

With all the diversity of historical situations through which the Soviet society has passed since the first five-year plans, during all these years the development of productive forces in the country have been determined primarily by processes of socialist planning-organizational industrial transformations of the economy.

Industrialization is a historically predictable area in the development of productive forces and of the economy as a whole. During its course the agrarian (or agroindustrial) countries have been transformed into industrial (or industrial-agrarian) ones through the creation of a large machine industry which occupies the key positions in the national economy and as a result of mechanization provides for a high level of technical availability for production and increased productivity of public labor. It also leads to the creation and introduction of industrial methods and means in agriculture and to the growth of cities and the spread of urban living conditions, it changes the structure of employment and requires a high level of education. In essence, industrialization is a profound, all-embracing process of reorganization of the economy which is conditioned by the change in the technology type of production--the changeover from predominantly home-oriented technological means of labor to mainly machine equipment and industrial technology in all branches of material production. And since the change in the technological orientation of production is reflected in one way or another in the nonproduction sphere, industrialization, in the final analysis, encompasses the entire national economy.

From this understanding of the industrial transformations of the national economy, one can see that they encompass a relatively long period, forming a large stage in the development of productive forces.

Socialist industrialization is a special type of industrial transformations which has proved its effectiveness in our country. In terms of its nature, types, sources of accumulation, goals and social consequences, it differs essentially from industrialization under capitalism and takes place not as a random process, but one which is deliberately controlled.

Because of a number of historical factors the course of socialist industrialization in the USSR has been marked by unpredicted, forced circumstances as well. The tasks of overcoming the country's backwardness and the threat of war created by capitalist encroachment at first dictated the insistent need for forced industrialization. Therefore during the 1930's and the beginning of the 1940's all resources were concentrated on the primary, key areas of the national economy on whose development the country's destiny depended directly--heavy industrial, mainly those branches which provide for increased production of means of production in the shortest possible period of time. The tasks of technical restructuring of other branches, which in principle are no less important but do not have the priority significance for reaching advanced industrial goals, providing for technological independence from capitalism and strengthening the country's defense capabilities, were put off until later. This was the situation, for example, with respect to light

industry, the industrialization of agriculture and the sphere of services, and the tasks of improving housing conditions and the public well-being.

As a result of the self-sacrificing labor of the Soviet people during the years of the first prewar five-year plans, the basic tasks of industrialization were resolved in unprecedentedly short periods of time. "The country's industrialization," it is emphasized in the CPSU program, "transformed the Soviet Union into a mighty industrial power." It became a true revolution in productive forces. New branches of heavy industry, mainly machine building, were created and assumed a key position in the national economy. During the years of the prewar five-year plans, in terms of the volume of machine-building output, the USSR took first place in Europe and second in the world, and in terms of the growth rates of industry it left all capitalist states far behind. The country's grain farming was given a machine and tractor base. Successful forced industrialization made it possible to win the Great Patriotic War, and in 3-4 years after it, to restore the country's industrial potential.

But during the years of the prewar five-year plans and during the course of the postwar restoration of what had been destroyed, we did not solve a number of tasks of industrial development, primarily the change in the structure of employment. During the 1930's-1950's more workers were employed in agriculture than in industry, construction, transportation and communications together: by 1940--54 percent of the overall number of workers as compared to 28 percent, and in 1955--44 percent as compared to 36 percent. During these same years a large proportion of the country's population lived in rural areas as they had before--67 percent by 1940 and 66 percent by 1955. The majority of workers in agriculture and more than half of those in industry were employed in unmechanized pre-industrial labor. About 88 percent of the workers in 1939 and 57 percent in 1959 had only a primary education or had no education at all.

The average per capita level of production of industrial output at that time was still lower than in countries where the industrial forms of economic activity had long been established in all spheres of the economy. The material well-being of the people (the consequences of the war were keenly felt here) did not correspond to the level that should have been provided by a comprehensively industrialized socialist society either.

As a result, as early as the 1960's it was necessary to start "catching up" and "finishing" the tasks of industrial transformations, in so doing taking advantage of economic methods generated during the period of forced industrialization and the era of the first five-year plans. The development of the national economy and economic growth were placed in the service mainly of principles of extensive reproduction; norms of economic activity and relations among branches that had taken form beginning in the 1930's were not eliminated from the practice of management but, on the contrary, in our opinion, became stronger and grew.

The arrears of certain spheres of the economy did not simply impart stagnant, "ossified" features to them. It itself was reproduced in economic practice; the management traditions that took form objectively supported it. Some of

the workers began to develop a negative attitude toward working in backward branches of the national economy. Essentially antisocial forms of overcoming the problems that arise here became established and accepted as custom: for example, when there was a persistent shortage of light industry products the increase in the volumes of their production was accompanied by a deterioration of the quality of the items. In the final analysis certain tasks of the industrial stage of the development of productive forces--such as the advancement of agricultural production to the level of stable supply of cities with various food products, a sharp reduction of the proportion of manual labor, and so forth--have remained unresolved up to this very day.

But in one way or another the methods of management that took form mainly during the 1930's provided for solving most of the problems of socialist industrialization. During the last quarter of this century the country became an industrial one not only in terms of the composition of the national income, but also in terms of the structure of the employed population, the production of the most typical kinds of industrial output, and many indicators of the standard of living and culture.

Today most of the country's workers are employed in industry, transportation, communications, and construction, and not in agriculture (47 percent as compared to 20 percent); in terms of the per capita output of steel, cement and sulfuric acid, the USSR is among the most developed industrial countries; urban conditions determine the way of life and daily existence not of the minority, but of the majority of people (almost 66 percent of the population now live in cities and more than 34 percent in villages). The majority of the employed people (about 90 percent) have an incomplete secondary or higher level of education.

The figures that have been presented show that by the 1970's the country's productive forces had assumed generally a developed industrial nature. There was a need to advance productive forces to a qualitatively new level and carry out new, large-scale technical restructuring.

2. The Need for New Technical Restructuring

The basic content of the new stage of national economic development is determined on the economic plane by the changeover of production to intensive growth, and on the technical-technological plane--its restructuring and reorganization on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

What is the essence of the new technical restructuring? It is radical updating of production capital, extensive modernization of it, and the introduction of progressive base technologies. All this should entail also a radical change in the ratio between live and embodied labor in the process of production, that is, the labor of workers and the functioning of means of production, and also the nature of these means themselves. The system of machines that is typical of industrial-factory and conveyor production requires that its action be constantly and directly augmented and supported by the live labor of the worker. In the new technological means of production which, in our opinion, might be called scientific industrial, live labor

begins to be replaced by production systems, where the technological cycles take place without man's direct intervention--technical systems controlled by means of automation (flexible automated systems and productions, machine tools with numerical program control, industrial robots and so forth), or the most complicated natural processes that lie at the basis of the latest industrial technologies (laser, membrane, electronic, microwave, biotechnology and so forth). The most important features of this type of development of productive forces were predicted by K. Marx who wrote about the stage in which "instead of being the major agent in the process of production, the worker will stand next to it" and more and more frequently "relate to the process of production itself as a controller and regulator" (Marx, K., Engels, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 46, part II, p 213).

Like industrialization in the preceding stages, scientific and technical revolution leads to changes in more than just the processes of material production. Its influence is felt in all sectors of the national economy: the changeover from the industrial system of machines to scientific-industrial organization of production is accompanied by essential changes in the relationship between the production and nonproduction spheres and an unprecedented interweaving of the production of material goods and scientific knowledge, information and spiritual values. Science is fully transformed into a productive force, and the increased significance of science and information entails an increase in the significance of education for improving the structure of the national economy.

Of course, the changeover of production to the path of intensification and its restructuring on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution are only beginning, and the tendencies conditioned by these changes are only being generated. But they are what reflect the main thing in modern development of production. During the course of restructuring of the material and technical base of the society it is necessary to solve problems that are inherited from the stage of industrialization, but the extensive processes of the industrial types that are carried out for this in certain sectors of the economy form a secondary, additional current in the development of productive forces. It is precisely scientific-industrial changes related to the scientific and technical revolution that determine the future of the new restructuring of the national economy.

The statement of the problem concerning a qualitatively new period in the development of productive forces following the industrial period, understandably, requires a certain amount of clarification.

As we know, in connection with this problem there have arisen theories of the "post-industrial society," "technitronic economics," "the stages of growth" and other constructs of bourgeois economists and futurologists. In "post-industrial" theories the qualitative changes brought about by the scientific and technical revolution which exert an immense influence not only on production but on all other spheres of social life have been broken away from the socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions and absolutized. And from this false premise the conclusion was drawn that the technical-technological measures automatically nullify the class antagonisms and lead to the same consequences in both the capitalist and the socialist societies.

Marxism-Leninism has always emphasized the social significance of the change of technological types of production and structures of technical equipment. And K. Marx and V. I. Lenin provided a scientific analysis of the essence and mechanism of this change long before the appearance of the idea of the "post-industrial society." But the radical opposition between the ideas of "post-industrialism" and Marxist-Leninist ideas about the social consequences of the change of the technological type of production consists not at all in whether or not one recognizes the appearance of a qualitatively new material-technical organization of production, but in whether or not the decisive role of the social structure is taken into account.

Scientific-industrial production has a different social nature in a socialist and a capitalist society and is accompanied by radically different socioeconomic consequences. But, while radically different from one another under socialism and communism, the qualitative changes in production comprise the point of departure for socioeconomic development in each of these systems. As was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, scientific and technical progress, while not abolishing the loss of social development or its social meaning and content, exert an immense influence on all processes taking place in the world.

3. Management Traditions and the Reorganization of the Economic Mechanism

The achievement by a socialist economy of a level at which the formation of productive forces of the scientific-industrial type begins requires a decisive improvement in production and all other social relations. The development of the scientific and technical revolution and the creation of scientific-industrial production can therefore take place only in organic connection with broad socioeconomic and political transformations that lead to an updating of socialism and to its achievement of a new qualitative condition. In other words, in order to advance toward a new type of technological organization of production, it is necessary to have a radical restructuring of the economic mechanism, which was created from the 1930's through the 1970's, and a changeover from primary administrative-directive methods of management to increasing utilization of the system of diverse economic methods of management.

The new type of production related to the scientific and technical revolution requires, for example, much higher rates of technical progress and the introduction of technical equipment than those that were typical of industrial production. An indispensable feature of reproduction in an economy of the scientific-industrial type is the radical updating and constant restructuring of production processes and their constant mobility, flexibility and changeability.

Moreover, in order to create a material and technical base of the scientific-industrial type, the more rapid development of machine building and other branches that determine scientific and technical progress must be combined with a rapid advancement of light industry and agriculture as well as improvement of the production and domestic infrastructure and the social and cultural service for the population.

Productive forces of the scientific-industrial type and the economy based on them can no longer develop without complete cost accounting [khozraschet], the establishment of principles of self-financing and self-supporting production [samookupayemost], or extensive development on a socialist basis of commodity-monetary, contracting and contractual relations. In particular, a most important economic condition for radical technical restructuring and updating of production capital is the economic independence of enterprises and associations and their authority and actual opportunity for self-management is in the framework of the centralized system of planned management. Only on this basis do labor collectives and managers have the opportunity and interest in developing initiative and socialist enterprisingness, the ability to mobilize reserves and take local peculiarities into account, and the desire to produce products necessary to the society with the least possible socially necessary expenditures.

The tasks of technical restructuring require a rejection of the command-directiveness of management and the uneconomical methods of administration that took form during the period of industrial transformations and objectively push the national economy in the direction of continuing development of the extensive type. The orientation toward intensification of the development of the national economy and acceleration of scientific and technical progress cannot be realized through administrative-directive methods. In order to carry out the strategy of comprehensive development of the socialist society, it is necessary to have skillful application of the system of prices, tariffs, credit, planned reserves and centralized capital investments in combination with complete cost accounting, commodity-monetary relations, self-supporting production and self-financing.

In brief, the level of development of productive forces achieved by our economy during the 1970's (or even by the end of the 1960's) generated a demand for a qualitative updating of social-production relations. Unfortunately--and this was specifically stated at the 27th CPSU Congress--this circumstance was not assigned its full importance at that time. There was a prevalence of internally contradictory views in which, on the one hand, the beginning of a new stage in the development of production associated with intensification and the scientific and technical revolution was recognized and, on the other, there was no clear understanding of the need for a radical transformation of the economic mechanism or strengthening of the economy as a whole.

The desire to change over to new forms of technical and economic development without qualitative improvement of production relations was not a consequence of simple misunderstanding, but had fairly deep historical and moral-psychological roots.

As we know, the construction of socialism was carried out for the first time in the USSR, and it was done in this country alone. Therefore there was no possibility of comparing our practice with the experience of socialist transformations under other national, economic or cultural conditions, and this means it was not always possible to distinguish clearly what it was in the economic and social-political structure that reflected the general

patterns of socialism and what reflected the specific features of a particular stage and concrete historical situation. But it is persistently necessary to take these specific features into account if only because a very great deal in the practical structuring of the Soviet society, as V. I. Lenin noted at one time, is related precisely to the inadequate administrative and economic development in the past.

It is far from always possible to distinguish between what is general in the development of socialism and what is historically particular also because many units of the economic mechanism and the sociopolitical structure have remained relatively effective throughout a fairly long period of time and have appeared to be effective even longer. The successful application of primarily command methods of management under the conditions of industrialization contributed to the development of the conviction (not always conscious) that regulative economic devices of management are alien to socialism, that socialism is incompatible with extensive development of commodity-monetary relations, and that planning can be reflected primarily if not exclusively in direct directive forms.

Such convictions (or, rather, prejudices) were especially strong among economic managers and ideological workers who developed after the beginning of forced industrialization and simply did not know any other economic practice. Moreover, the critical nature of the intraparty struggle of the 1920's and 1930's and the international ideological confrontation of past decades could not but be reflected in their awareness. The logic of ideological conflicts frequently led socialism to proclaim as universal truths points that were true only for one or another concrete historical situation. Under similar conditions a position was formed whereby in any change of the economic mechanism they saw almost a deviation from the principles of socialism.

The structure of management of the national economy, which had not changed for a long time, acquired not only psychological, but also social supports. Significant groups (both among managers and among rank-and-file workers) received certain privileges in this system. As a result, they developed direct interest in retaining outdated policies as long as possible. This circumstance also impeded the awareness of the need of a radical transformation of the economic mechanism.

The fact that at that time there was no realistic evaluation of the new problems impeded the development of the socioeconomic policy during the 1960's and 1970's. Throughout this entire period there was a prevalence of the technical-technological approach or, at best, attempts were made to carry out intensification with the help of individual technical and economic measures that were not associated with one another. As for the socioeconomic and social-political transformations that were required for changes in production, they were not given the proper significance.

In the middle of the 1960's an economic reform was begun, according to which it was intended to expand the rights of enterprises and enliven the effect of economic levers of management and also to introduce complete cost accounting. But economic methods of management were not appreciably developed and were gradually nullified. The overall evaluation of the causes for this was given

at the 27th CPSU Congress. It lays the basis not only for an understanding of the phenomena of the past, but also for a better clarification of the essence of the problems facing us today.

4. The 27th Congress and Ideological-Psychological Prerequisites for Reorganizing the National Economy

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress put an end to the previous halfway orientation and created an ideological-psychological basis for comprehensive economic transformations that encompassed both the growth of productive forces and improvement of production relations.

The decisions of the congress completely and clearly set the task of qualitative improvement of productive forces, intensification of the national economy and development of the scientific and technical revolution. As is pointed out in the new edition of the CPSU Program, today we are speaking about raising the national economy "to a principally new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level...."

At the same time the 27th Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee have emphasized that it is impossible to carry out a deep restructuring of the national economy without socioeconomic transformation and without a resolute improvement of production relations and their constant correspondence to the dynamically developing productive forces. This gives special significance to the conclusion drawn at the congress concerning the need for a radical economic reform--increased independence for associations and enterprises on the basis of true cost accounting, self-repayment and self-financing, the dissemination of economic methods of management to all levels of the national economy and, on the basis of this, strengthening of the effectiveness of centralized management in achieving the basic tasks of the economic strategy.

Here we are speaking not about partial improvements and not about "cosmetic repair" of the edifice of the socialist economy, but precisely about a comprehensive updating of economic relations that involve all stages of the production cycle and all factors in economic growth. Moreover, the decisions of the congress and subsequent party documents raise the question of transforming the deep radical structures of socialism in the sociopolitical sphere as well.

Thus the directive of the congress toward activating the human factor in production and the provisions concerning social prerequisites for technological restructuring of production are of immense importance for carrying out these tasks.

The transformations earmarked by the congress cannot be carried out without a real involvement of workers in the management of production. And, in turn, they create a foundation for further expansion of their participation.

A great deal in changing the psychological positions of workers and managers depends here on whether or not there will be possibilities of actual self-management of associations and enterprises. If the rights of the latter remain

limited and if the main decisions are made outside the enterprise, and the decisions of their collectives can be overruled by higher agencies, it will be difficult to count on an active interest in management and self-management on the part of the masses of workers. An expansion of the rights and responsibilities of the enterprises makes true participation of the majority of the workers in management not only possible, but also socially necessary. Without this, without the development of self-management in production, the independence of the enterprises will inevitably be reduced essentially to the independence of the economic managers.

The establishment of a mass ideological-psychological orientation toward updating the society is closely linked to an understanding of the need for technical restructuring and reorganization of the economic mechanism in order to solve large-scale social problems--changes in the nature and content of labor, raising of the level of public well-being and strict observance of the socialist principle of distribution according to the quantity, quality and results of labor.

Comprehensive automation and the introduction of basic progressive technologies for each branch as well as productions that do not involve human beings will make it possible to sharply reduce the proportion of heavy and unprestigious manual labor.

The changeover to complete cost-accounting makes it possible to link economic indicators of the operation of enterprises to the quantity and quality of the labor of workers and labor collectives more closely than before and to make the level of income of the collectives and of each worker directly dependent on the effectiveness of the work.

Of principal significance for the ideological-psychological support of the course toward the new technical restructuring and acceleration of socioeconomic development are the measures earmarked by the congress for improving the political and legal superstructure of the Soviet society. Without the development of a political system, improvement of legislation and a higher level of overall political culture it is impossible to solve problems of radical technical restructuring and reorganization of the economic mechanism.

In particular, unless the currently existing legal norms, institutions and customary forms of distribution of authority and rights among enterprises and various state agencies are changed it will be impossible to count on an expansion of economic independence, overcome the prejudiced attitude toward commodity and monetary relations, and actually enlist workers in management of the economy. For these norms and policies were created in order to maintain a different level of independence, a different command-directive approach, and not the economic approach to management of the national economy.

In this connection the decisions of the 27th Congress provide an orientation toward improving the legal basis of state and public life. And the most important task in this area is legal reinforcement of new forms of economic relations. The party proceeds from the idea that legality as a practically effective regulator of the social and economic organism is maintained not by

declarations but by deepening an expansion of democracy in all of its aspects and manifestations. In this sense the measures earmarked by the congress for developing socialist self-management and above all direct democracy are a necessary condition for restructuring the national economy and reorganizing the economic mechanism.

Direct democracy, in turn, depends on the development of representative democracy, which encompasses all levels of state and political life. From this standpoint it is remarkable that the decisions of the congress envision the development of forms of national representation and improvement of principles of the electoral system and the electoral practice. Contributing to this same area will be the democratization of the process of the development and adoption of state decisions, which makes it possible to take various opinions into account more completely and thus select the optimal variants of decisions on the scale of the entire society.

The goal of expansion of publicity is of principal significance for the creation of the new economic mechanism as for all of the updating of socialism. Publicity as the most important practical means of restructuring the psychological climate in the society opens up the possibility of comprehensively changing management and economic customs and traditions, including those that do not submit to formal regulation.

The creation of stable political prerequisites for socioeconomic transformations is even more important since the restructuring of our life is taking place, as is emphasized in party documents, in the struggle between forces of renewal and forces of conservatism. In this struggle it will be decided whether or not the Soviet society will reach a qualitatively new level in its development or if we will again be "bogged down" in economic stagnation and public apathy. The party thinks that there can be no concessions to anything that has been outdated. Today there are no alternatives to the strategy of dynamism and renewal.

A historico-sociological analysis of the experience of technical reconstruction shows that no technical-technological or socioeconomic transformations can be considered without the corresponding political prerequisites and without purposive political work. Today the party is creating these prerequisites consistently, step by step, and opening up before the country real possibilities of renewal and accelerated movement forward. But in order for these possibilities to become reality it is necessary to have practical work on the part of party, state and economic agencies, deliberate efforts, activity, initiative and civic courage on the part of each member of the society.

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RELIGION

UNDERUSE OF PSYCHOTHERAPY TURNS POPULACE TO FAITH HEALERS

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 15 Feb 87 p 3

[Article by Doctor of Psychotherapy M. Tokhiri, under the "Health Service" rubric: "Words Which Heal, Words Which Maim"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] When they examined him at municipal clinical hospital No 3, the medical doctor diagnosed an oncological disease. The X-ray indicated stomach cancer. An operation was urgently needed.

Yet the operation did not take place: his relatives secretly took him from the hospital and drove him home to Oktok village in Leninskiy Rayon. The relatives had heard of a famous healer living in Leninabad Oblast who could cure everything, even cancer. The healer arrived, examined the patient and prescribed a "treatment." First, he forced the patient to drink two liters of water and then induced vomiting. After this the doctor extracted a hairy ball from the liquid and declared: "The patient will recover."

They paid the healer 500 rubles and on that same day conducted him back home with honor. In the night the 30-year old person's condition sharply deteriorated. They urgently called for the doctor's assistant from the village, but with every day the patient became worse. We did not succeed in hospitalizing him and he died in the prime of life.

Quack doctors know how to arrange good publicity for their "outstanding" abilities and the results of their "doctoring." The main goal for most of them is to stuff their pockets a bit more tightly. Furthermore, they indirectly play into the hands of mullahs and other advocates of Islam in preaching the thought that religion and religious ceremonies have a psychotherapeutic, i.e., a medical significance. This also applies to those who profess other creeds.

Doctors Yu. Antropov and A. Yavkin from Penza examined a number of patients suffering from neurosis. It turned out that among those tested, 84 believed in God and 36 did not, i.e., the believers were subject to diseases more than twice as often. There are also more people with obviously manifested psychological shifts and constant anxiety about their health among believers.

Charlatans and quack doctors of any sort have, since ancient times, always known how to use the influence of hypnosis on a person for their own purposes.

Some people sincerely defend them, since "they know from personal experience" that some old woman's "herbs" or "elixir" makes them feel better. However, the improvement ensues not from the direct effect of the drugs obtained from quack doctors, but due to indirect hypnosis, to the patient's belief in their medicinal properties.

They do not realize the main danger: the ailments of persons treated by quack doctors usually progress at precisely the time that, to the patient himself, his state of health seems to be improving with every day. In fact, the disease can advance to a point beyond which no treatment of any sort can help. Quack doctors sometimes go so far as to commit a direct crime, prescribing narcotic substances for religious patients in large doses.

People often ask: how does this doctor heal with words? In some cases either there was no illness, or the person was pretending to be ill. Many of these people, who need psychotherapy--healing with words, reject it and use dubious medicines on themselves or turn directly to quack doctors.

I met her in a patient's apartment. The 45-50 year old woman was well dressed and confident in herself. "Certainly, I will cure this young man," she promised.

Upon seeing a doctor, she started to become slightly nervous.

"Where did you study?" I asked her.

"In Leningrad."

Since I myself studied there, I asked her at which institute she had studied. The lady became even more nervous and then answered that she had not studied, but had worked in a pharmacy.

The relatives interrupted our conversation, evidently fearing that the quack would forsake doing the treatment. I then found out that she had prescribed three courses of "treatment" at 50 rubles apiece. The "treatment" consisted of the following: having forced the lad to shave his head, she dropped several droplets of vinegar on the back of his head and declared that the disease would leave him through that spot and he would recover. Alas, the patient did not endure even two courses... The relatives refused to give me the quack doctor's address.

I remember another case: patient L., 26 years old, was in the cardiology department because of a heart-related neurosis. Regardless of the fact that they had fully examined her entire system with all the modern examination methods, no pathological changes were found. They discharged the patient, but she continued to consider herself unhealthy.

I met this patient 5 years later when a psychotherapy office was opened at the republic cardiology center's base office. In the course of conversation I

discovered that over this time she had been in many cardiological type medical institutions and had even had a probe of the heart cavities done on her, but again no pathological changes whatsoever had been found. With psychotherapy and hypnosis this patient recovered fairly rapidly.

It is thought that many patients turn to mullahs, healers and quacks because of the low level of propaganda for psychotherapy among the populace in our republic. Nonetheless, its broad application is now considered one of the most important tasks of national public health care.

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CULTURE

PROFESSOR DISCUSSES NATIONALIST VIEW OF CULTURE

PM271611 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Mar 87 p 6

[Article by Professor S. Kaltakchyan, RSFSR honored scientist: "Whither the 'Common Stream'? On Lenin's Concept of 'Two Cultures...' and Its Misinterpretations"--first paragraph printed in boldface italics; capitalized passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum condemned the practice of paying lipservice to Lenin's course while diverging from it in deed and demanded that distortions of the principles of socialism and its ideology and morality as formulated by Lenin be vigorously eradicated, that any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, anti-Semitism, national narrow-mindedness, and arrogance be rebuffed, and that they be countered by consistent and firm internationalism.

We will be looking at how Lenin's ideas on attitudes toward the cultural heritage and patriotism are sometimes misinterpreted, while slogans of restructuring are used not to further advance us but to push us back.

The disregard for Lenin's ideas on culture already has a history, and it is high time to investigate this with the utmost bluntness.

The sixties saw a perceptible growth in the interest of Soviet nations and ethnic groups in their past, which is perfectly natural and indicates a deepening of the interpretation of the cultural process. But the same period also brought to light a worrying trend: the perception of the development of artistic culture as a "common stream." There was talk of the "integrity of each national culture," which is supposedly attributable to each nation's specific "genetic information" and "genetic memory."

For example, the literary critic V. Petelin wrote that "kindness, conscientiousness, and cordiality are genes transmitted from generation to generation, creating the traditional national attributes, qualities, and specific features of the Russian character, the 'Russian soul.'" Instead of Marx' formula that man's essence (and consequently the essence of the various communities of people) "is the totality of all social relations." V. Petelin offered something idealistic: Man's main characteristic is the fact that he "is the representative of a nation."

Authors of other nationalities who share this viewpoint replace "Russian" with the name of their own nation. Their "national soul," too, is special and superior to the "souls" of all other nations. Even some scientists joined in substantiating the "common stream." Historian L. Gumilev, for example, holds that ethnoses (nations, ethnic groups) constitute "discrete closed systems" with their own unique attitudes, and any merging of cultures produces ethnic chimeras. Does this mean that the concept of "two cultures" and the expediency of the mutual enrichment and rapprochement of the cultures of different nations are being called into question? "Why is it that, through the centuries, Uzbeks have remained Uzbeks... and Russians have remained Russians?" writer V. Soloukhin asks. And he replies: "There is obviously some kind of programming... there is obviously some kind of spirit of the peoples..."

As if there were no Leninist concept of "two national cultures within each national culture," with its rejection of the existence of some kind of common, integral culture in a class-antagonistic society. After all, Lenin repeated the word "national" twice, since both cultures exist in national form and are created by people who have the same nationality, but socially opposite ideologies and mentalities. Thus a reversion to extremely outdated theories began in the guise of innovation.

Idealistic, biological and psychological, and even religious theological "arguments" are used to resuscitate the pre-Marxist theory of the "common stream."

Lenin's concept of "two cultures" clearly hinders this. V. Soloukhin, for example, in proposing that reactionaries like V. Rozanov and K. Leontyev be included in the "common stream" of Russian culture, simply keeps silent about Lenin's concept. Others proclaim it to be "a mere figurative expression" applying at best only to political culture. Finally, one encounters unfounded claims that Lenin allegedly reviewed this question (L. Yershov, A. Khvatov, P. Vykhodtsev, V. Kozhinov, A. Kuzmin) after the October Revolution.

M. Lobanov, for example, published in the journal VOLGA in 1982 an article entitled "Liberation," in which he developed with particular zeal his former ideas about the "call of natural integrity," the "heavy cross of national self-awareness," and so on. In his critical article "'Liberation'... From What?" P. Nikolayev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, explained to the ordinary reader that M. Lobanov, in speaking about the "existence of a mysterious 'people's soul,'" is essentially trying to "liberate" us from a class approach toward the analysis of historical events.

It is sufficient to open the book "Ostrovskiy" by none other than M. Lobanov himself. It announces, for example, that no "dark realm" ever existed [reference to the title of Dobrolyubov article on Ostrovskiy's plays] and that it was invented by the "educator" (the actual word used: educator, rather than most eminent revolutionary democrat) Dobrolyubov. And M. Lobanov is actually glorified for this "fresh view" on history. Judge for yourselves: "It was no accident that an eminent contemporary author, speaking of modern

criticism, named none other than Mikhail Lobanov as the foremost heir to V. Belinskiy's traditions. Therefore, whether we like it or not, this literary critic is entitled to consider himself the pioneer... of the revival of the moral behests of the people's culture within contemporary literature." M. Lobanov earned an equally high appraisal from S. Lykoshin, author of the dilogy "Our Heart Is One" [Serdtshe u Nas Odno] and "Beyond the White Wall" [Za Beloy Stenoy]. The latter, much to the surprise of many people, was awarded the Lenin Komsomol Prize.

As a matter of fact Belinskiy, presented as a "supporter" of Lobanov's "natural integrity," actually vividly demonstrated the opposite--the spiritual split of an antagonistic nation: "How is it possible to demand sociability between people from different classes," he wrote, "when each one of these classes has its own way of thinking, speaking, dressing, eating, and drinking?" Was it not possible to manage to laud M. Lobanov without distorting Belinskiy's views?

The idea of "natural integrity" is also developed by V. Kozhinov in the article "And Every Tongue That Dwells Therein Shall Speak My Name..." He holds that "renunciation and meekness" are qualities intrinsic to the Russian character and that the idea of this "developed within the new Russian literature movement at least from the 1820's on," included in works by Gertsen and, once more, Belinskiy. Yet Belinskiy not only did not believe "meekness" to be a Russian national feature but, on the contrary, he wrote: "We submitted to the Tatars in no way out of meekness (which would have been dishonorable, rather than honorable, for us, as for any other people)... Ioann Kalita was wily rather than meek... Dmitriy Donskoy predicted the end of Tatar dominion in Russia by the sword rather than through meekness... People still speak of love as a national principle exclusively characteristic of the Slavic tribes to the detriment... of the Western ones... is it not true that these words provide a lofty example of a mind that has gone beyond reason..."

As though by command, the champions of the "common stream" rushed to praise their national identity. In the early seventies, while V. Kozhinov was pining for such a sweet aspect of the Russian identity as the abundant and wonderful food (in tsarist villages, of all places!), an equally absurd argument was being conducted in the pages of the journals LITERATURNAYA ARMENIYA and LITERATURNAYA GRUZIYA: Whose tsar was better? And tsars, princes, military leaders, and clerics began to be depicted in an idyllic light in a number of other republics too. Obsolete religious rites and customs began to be presented as "people's" and "national" traditions...

A nation's culture certainly reflects its history, and its present is in a relationship of continuity with it. Everything progressive from the past must be passed on via the present to the future. But only the progressive. It is ridiculous to say that we will take over as spiritual baggage any benighted attitudes or obscurantism handed down to us on the basis of the principles of some kind of "genetic" kinship. At each new stage of history, the national acquires a new complexion. And the socialist cultural revolution altogether created a qualitatively new culture, the product of a new society. A society

in which the culture of every socialist nation is international in spirit, although its forms have specific national features. Lenin perceived this prospect even before October, when he revealed the class meaning of the dichotomy of culture, and after the revolution he showed how the overcoming of this dichotomy leads to the creation of a new unity. This is the lesson of Leninist dialectics, of the Leninist cultural revolution. How can it become obsolete today? And how is it possible to arbitrarily rethink or subject to vivisection Lenin's living and fully developed ideas?

V. Kozhinov gave the following subtitle to his article "Lessons of History," published by the journal MOSKVA in 1986: "On Lenin's Concept of National Culture." Essentially he was misleading the readers. Lenin had no such separate concept, and V. Kozhinov must know this. And the point is not that before the revolution Lenin spoke of "two national cultures" and did not use the term "national culture" at all after the revolution. He immediately perceived the phenomenon in all its complexity as a movement of cultures toward a new qualitative state.

Sensing the shakiness of his positions, V. Kozhinov writes that Lenin "was unable to firmly establish his concept of national culture, let alone put it into practice." But he would have done better not to take Lenin as an ally rather than arbitrarily interpret his views. Lenin's perception of culture proceeds from the premise that the term "national" indicates only its specific historical features. But in his article "Lessons of History" V. Kozhinov promotes the national as essence. Moreover, he limits a number of Lenin's statements against the slogan of "national culture" as applicable only to the situation of "fierce struggle by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie" in general and against Bund nationalism in particular, also presenting in a biased fashion Lenin's polemics against Bund member Libman.

Let us turn to the primary source. In his "Critical Notes on the Nationalities Question" Lenin emphasized: "Our slogan is an international culture of democratism and the worldwide workers movement," and went on to write: "Right away Bund member Mr Libman joins battle and crushes me with the following murderous tirade: 'Anyone who is even slightly familiar with the nationalities question knows that international culture is not synonymous with non-national culture (culture without a national form)... This has been known for a long time, but V.I. does not even wish to know about it...'

"Ponder closely this typical Bund argument which is supposed, you see, to demolish the Marxist thesis propounded by me... Yes, international culture is not non-national, dear Bund member... your pointless collection of words is just an attempt to distract the reader's attention and conceal the essence of the matter by ringing words."

Libman indeed pretends that Lenin, in emphasizing the social-class content of culture, "does not even wish to know" that any culture has its own specific national features. Unfortunately, some of our own authors, in their desire to prove the thesis that culture is national at all times and in everything, refer to the aforementioned quotation but truncate it. They omit the taunting

words "Yes... dear Bund member" and cite only the words "international culture is not non-national." This toying with nuances dilutes the elegance and clarity of Lenin's idea that the essence of culture is determined by class content and not by national peculiarities of form. The words "culture is not non-national" mean that it does contain national elements, and not that it is entirely national.

Our ideological adversaries, including the nationalists, simply dream of the opposite. It was no accident that they joyfully welcomed the publication of individual works with a nationalist tinge in our country, like M. Makhmudov's novel "Unfading Peaks" [Nemerknushchiye Vershiny], proclaiming moreover that literature which is "national in content and socialist in form" has appeared in the USSR.

Lenin's tenets must be considered as an interconnected whole. Otherwise we would conclude that the internationalization of spiritual life is tantamount to the squeezing out of anything national. This would be an unforgivable vulgarization of Lenin's teaching. The national is not squeezed out--quite the contrary, by accepting everything valuable from the cultures of other nations, it acquires a new complexion.

V. Kozhinov and A. Kuzmin also interpret in the spirit of the "common stream" Lenin's postrevolutionary call to "take over all the culture left behind by capitalism..." V. Kozhinov attempts to convince the reader that Lenin (some time in 1918 or 1919) revised his interpretation of "national culture" and, consequently, of the concept of "two cultures." A Kuzmin describes this concept as "just a remark," and contrasts this remark by Lenin, allegedly dictated by short-term expediency, with his struggle against the Proletarian Culture movement. This author presented his interpretations to readers of the journal NASH SOVREMENNİK.

The scientific untenability of such constructs was discussed at the Eighth USSR Writers Congress. Let us add that tendentiously presented quotations, put together contrary to the logic of the authorities cited, are an improper method of dealing with science.

There are also strained interpretations as regards the genesis and development of Lenin's thinking. Authors link the appearance of Lenin's concept of "two cultures" with the 1913-1914 period, when the struggle against bourgeois nationalism was stepped up. But V.I. Lenin was already working on this question back in 1897 in connection with his elaboration of the problem "What Heritage Are We Renouncing?" Essentially, he also spoke of "two cultures" in the article "Party Organization and Party Literature" (1905). Lenin also contrasts in many other works the progressive culture and the reactionary and clerical culture exemplified by VEKHI [an anthology of liberal writings] and the Black Hundreds. Yes, he did develop the ideas on "two cultures" into an integral program concept in 1913, but the actual ideas were constantly in his mind both before and after the revolution.

Lenin never left any imprecision in tenets of fundamental importance, he repeatedly returned to them and revealed their meaning to the full. Thus, speaking of the democratic and socialist elements of culture, he emphasized that we "take up only them, and unquestionably do so as a counterweight to bourgeois culture," and he also went on to further explain this idea as follows: "...in questions concerning the proletariat, any placing of one national culture as a whole in opposition to another supposedly integral national culture and so on is /BOURGEOIS/ nationalism, and a merciless struggle against it is mandatory." He wrote after October: "Not the /INVENTION/ of a new proletarian culture, but /DEVELOPMENT/ of the best examples, traditions, and results of the /EXISTING/ culture /FROM THE VIEW-POINT/ of Marxist world philosophy..." In other words, Lenin's struggle against the Proletarian Culture movement not only was not "contrary to the remark about 'two cultures,'" as A. Kuzmin writes, but was actually a continuation and a development of this concept.

In order to attribute a revision of positions to Lenin, V. Kozhinov simply substitutes terms. First he identifies bourgeois culture with the culture of bourgeois society, essentially emasculating Leninist dialectics. He goes on to claim: "It is necessary to draw attention to the fact that V.I. Lenin in a way equates the terms 'valuable' and 'culture.'" The author clearly hopes for a reaction from contemporary readers, who perceive culture as a value phenomenon (after all, its standing in people's awareness is very high), hopes that they, these readers, will simply forget that culture in its broad sense includes everything created by mankind, both the progressive and the reactionary.

V. Kozhinov also protests, in the name of the inheritance of the "whole culture," that "terms relating to 'the nobility,' 'the landowners,' and 'the bourgeoisie' still rank as (negative) value judgments and not as scientific sociopolitical definitions." Another instance of deliberate confusion on the pretext of struggle against dogmatism. Such an attack on "value judgments" is a somewhat belated response to the vulgar sociology which interpreted Pushkin as the troubadour of the nobility and Chekhov as a bourgeois writer. However, the trouble is that this response leads not to a return to genuine Marxism with its profound perception of the development of culture and its ties with sociohistorical progress, but to the obscuring of this real social and historical context! Historicism "in words" turns into anti-historicism.

In that same article, "Lessons of History," V. Kozhinov turns to the heated literary arguments of the twenties around the "reproduction of real foundations of literary relations." And he cites Ilya Ilf's rejoinder in the course of a discussion at the editorial office of the newspaper GUDOK about Mikhail Bulgakov's works: "Misha has only just reluctantly accepted the emancipation of peasants from serfdom, and you want him to immediately become a fighter of the socialist revolution!... You must wait a little." The irony and the hyperbole are fully within the spirit of the time. But V. Kozhinov goes on to erupt in the following bombastic tirade: "Similar criticism was constantly leveled at writers who, like the creator of 'Days of the Turbins,' did not follow the path of breaking with national culture." And the outcome is that the tradition of national culture is ranked together with an unwillingness

or "reluctance" to accept... the emancipation of peasants from serfdom. This is the impression one gets from the profoundly thoughtful interpretation of the rejoinder in the discussion. See how it is possible to make absurd claims, bereft of even ordinary logic, when upholding a "trend."

Something else is also worthy of attention. The article makes abundant use of quotations from Trotskiy, Bukharin, literary scientist A. Lezhnev, and so on. Critically evaluating the vulgar social excesses of the time, the author attempts to impress upon the reader that today's supporters of the class approach to the cultural heritage (Surovtsev and Oskotskiy, for example, who are the targets of Kozhinov's critical pen) are nothing but spiritual heirs of the aforementioned "demoralizers of the national spirit." Moreover, a deliberate silence is maintained about the fact that all those excesses and cavalry charges against the spiritual heritage of the past have already been evaluated from positions of genuine Marxism.

V. Kozhinov goes on to assume that he places in a difficult position those who proceed from the principle of "two cultures" but do not reject either the works of Count Tolstoy or the icons painted by Rublev. He recalls the extensive efforts made by V.I. Lenin (in the most difficult years) to preserve churches, frescoes, and icons (true enough, he does not mention the fact that these were artistically valuable rather than ordinary churches or icons), and asks: "Surely the supporters of the aforementioned view cannot suppose that these examples of Russian national culture can indeed be classed as democratic and socialist elements?"

But where is the difficulty? We are talking of masterpieces in which famous and anonymous geniuses of the people have invested their perception of beauty and their understanding of life on earth and have expressed their ideals. There is nothing here to contradict the logic of the development of culture as perceived by Marxism-Leninism: the link between art and religion at certain historical stages and the gradual liberation from religious canons and dogmas. As for the class origin of eminent writers or painters, is there any need to repeat that it was not this origin which determined their place in the "two cultures"? It is well known that Lenin highly valued the works of Gertsen and Tolstoy, who were members of the nobility. On the other hand, take for example N. Fedorov, who originated from the lower classes of the people and considered private property to be a sin, but, despite his "origin," preached religious and mystical ideas, took Slavophilism and the "back to the soil" movement to the point of absurdity, and created a fantastic concept of autocracy by Muscovite Russia. The publication of his work "Philosophy of the Common Cause" [Filosofiya Obshchego Dela] was hurriedly proclaimed abroad as "awakened by the new interest in religious and idealistic philosophy in Russia." Unfortunately, we ourselves provide grounds for such statements. Such books must be known. But there must be no rushing from one extreme to the other: either banning publication or organizing hysterical publicity campaigns, instead of producing appropriate commentaries and evaluations to accompany such publications.

The supporters of the "common stream" introduce plenty of confusion into Lenin's perception of patriotism. Not only did Lenin never speak of patriotism in general terms; on the contrary, he clearly separated proletarian and socialist patriotism from bourgeois and petty bourgeois patriotism, perceiving it as a historical, and therefore developing category; this perception was diametrically opposed to claims by bourgeois ideologists concerning some kind of mystical "national and racial spirit."

Looking at V. Kozhinov's and A. Kuzmin's articles, it is easy to see that they are pervaded by a common trend: get rid of "epithets" and proclaim nationalism to be a supraclass feeling, which is allegedly identical in all ages and epochs and "has an independent value."

Quoting Lenin's words "patriotism is one of the most profound feelings consolidated by centuries and millennia of the existence of isolated [obosoblenny] fatherlands," A. Kuzmin disregards the last two words, "isolated fatherlands." Even though Lenin explains right there that this deep-rooted old patriotism of isolated fatherlands almost killed the proletarian revolution. And he emphasized this on numerous occasions.

For example, analyzing the dramatic events of the Brest Peace at the Eighth Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress, Lenin said: "These events opened the eyes of many people who, in the age of the brewing proletarian revolution, judged things from the standpoint of the old patriotism, judged not only in a nonsocialist fashion but also altogether incorrectly." This warning is also topical in the epoch of victorious socialism. The experience of the socialist countries has shown: When patriotism ceases to be socialist patriotism, it can become nationalistic.

The fatherland's best people have always honored love for their people, a love, however, which is not ingratiating or placid but is active and overcomes everything that humiliates the people. A vivid example is provided by Lenin's article "On the National Pride of Great Russians." The idyllic sketches of the prerevolutionary past which one can glimpse in contemporary literature provide a warning not only because of their rosy smarminess. They also show a lack of profound analysis and a confusion of criteria in the understanding of patriotism.

It was Great October that gave rise to a new patriotism which merges with proletarian, socialist internationalism. At the very start of the revolution Lenin called for a struggle "for the socialist fatherland." And if there is no such thing, if love goes no further than the native hearth, the landscape or a patriarchal way of life to which one has been accustomed from childhood, patriotism is easily squeezed out by ethnocentrism, which is only a step away from nationalism "for its own sake." "Patriotism is the most noble of feelings. It is not even a feeling, it is the most important aspect of both the personal and the social spiritual culture, when man and the whole people seem to rise above themselves and set themselves suprapersonal goals," Academician D. Likhachev writes in "Notes About the Russian," warning against

"the most grievous of humankind's misfortunes"--nationalism. Only the unity of national and international interests can ensure people's genuine responsibility for "socialism as a fatherland, for the Soviet republic as a /DETACHMENT/ of the worldwide army of socialism" (Lenin).

In order to draw genuine benefit from the greater interest being shown in the values of past culture, it is necessary to get rid of misinterpretations of Lenin's concept of "two cultures." Leninism is also harmed by attempts, made on the pretext of waging a struggle against "dogmatism," to turn Lenin into an innocuous icon and his living teaching into a museum exhibit. This is also done by peculiar interpretations of Leninism which make use of Leninist phraseology to produce an effect that is the opposite of Leninist.

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CULTURE

BONDAREV LAUDS VIRTUES OF LITERARY TRADITIONS

PM261512 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Mar 87 First Edition p 4

[Interview with writer Yuriy Bondarev by Nikolay Dobryukha: "With Love and Pain"]

[Text] Yuriy Bondarev's books deal with the most burning problems of our time. Their every word is imbued with a writer's pain for man, his life and actions, his past, present, and future. Our correspondent Nikolay Dobryukha met with the writer and asked him to answer a number of questions connected with the present state of literature and criticism, the progress of restructuring in our literature, and the role of the writer in present-day life. We publish Yuriy Vasilyevich Bondarev's answers to these and other questions.

[Bondarev] When I am asked: "What question worries you most today?" I always ponder but nonetheless give the same answer: "Literature and criticism."

I could say, of course, that what concerns me most is the state of the modern world, the fate of the economy in the era of restructuring which has begun, and all questions connected with ecology. But I am a writer, and therefore I live for literature, which is inseparable from global and nonglobal problems. What is our art like today, what will it be like tomorrow? These are questions affecting the destiny of every one of us who reveres the past in our culture and lives in hope.

Thinking about the future of literature, that complex human activity, in a new time, I ask myself: What does restructuring mean for a serious writer? Obviously it means a spiritual readjustment, a change in his system of thinking. More precisely, it means returning his awareness, soul, talent, and spiritual experience, which is almost impossible, even if there is something approaching an imperative demanding that this be done. A writer's books are his "self," developed through suffering and embodied in words. And if this "self" did not exist before the new time, if the writer was not an individual with his own inner world and his own pain, he had no right to call himself a writer.

Indeed, the only thing that is interesting in literature is individuality, which can be defined as personality. That is, a person characterized by a

distinct inclination to reveal the truth, always preaching, defending, and asserting it. He is dedicated to the eternal god of truth. And it is his vocation to reveal, through words, the human mystery, the master of existence, the essence of human life and its imperfection.

Being a serious writer is a lifelong vocation, a permanent critical attitude to oneself and a constant quest, where dissatisfaction with oneself prevails. Can he restructure himself in the same way that a factory, for instance, can be restructured? Nonetheless the changes taking place in the country, concerning the future of the world, also affect the writer, and he, in turn, can and must use his critical thought to exert an influence on the current processes, adopting an even more searching, responsible attitude first and foremost to himself. If I were to say that now the writer will at last begin to tell the truth, that, frankly, would be absurd. Timeservers and liars will begin to tell the "truth." The serious writer is at all times obliged to walk with the truth and write the truth, to seek the facts and defend justice with all his work. The question of truth was placed at the center of attention by the 27th party congress.

In this context I am not only thinking of that section of printed and spoken criticism which, under the banners of democracy and openness, has entirely abandoned constructive principles. The bold champions of very well orchestrated havoc in literature, the theater, and the cinema, who only yesterday maintained a modest silence or modestly avoided the most pressing, tricky questions, are today, with the boldness of organized impunity, turning criticism into a fashion, a black fashion, and indulging with unrestrained savagery in the settling of scores, ambition, and self-assertion, so as to form a kind of freemasonry of opinions--making the reputations of new geniuses, overturning values, and persecuting talent, which in some cases has led to a lamentable outcome. What is happening is not a process of cleansing, but spiritual pollution--in order to boost shaky self-esteem and gain petty advantages, not in order to develop society's moral life. It is axiomatic that criticism is a creative concept. And the people say: Knocking down is not building. By the force of evil, a splendid palace which took many years to build can be turned into a heap of bricks, into stinking ruins covered in bile. The new champions of havoc would really do well to remember this simple formula: Honor the historical past, scorn fear, do no evil, perfect your courage. They should learn from those of their colleagues who understand restructuring as a means of renewing our life.

Criticism today is dominated by self-will without reasonable circumspection, while in fact a special responsibility, perhaps even ultraresponsibility, rests with criticism. I say this because today it is necessary to evaluate many things critically, but you have to evaluate correctly and know well what you are criticizing. You have to learn how to criticize, because we often lack the art of evaluating the phenomena of life and the phenomena of art. In the conditions of restructuring and democratization, criticism should be imbued with socialist morality, it should always be partyminded and founded on truth.

In evaluating the past and present, it is necessary to remember that nothing is really new unless it continues the great traditions, because a tree grows upward, but it cannot grow if it is torn from its roots, from the ground. The new is not some magical energy drawn from nothingness. Everything has its sources and origins. Otherwise the critic will find himself in the same position as those "revolutionaries" who once cried: "Cast Pushkin out of the ship of today!", but were eventually themselves rejected by life. It is clear that not everything new shows talent. This is particularly strikingly confirmed by our contemporary architecture: Knocking down what it called old, the priceless monuments of architectural art, it offered the styleless style of gloomy boxes like latter-day barracks or the faceless style of glass and concrete borrowed from the most Western country, America, apparently for want of its own ideas. Who is now impressed by a collage or by abstract paintings? Who is amazed by the fragmented prose which innocently corrupted the reader's taste in the twenties? But strangely enough, certain individuals are now raising like a banner what was already obsolete and discarded many years ago, and, unfurling this banner, they let out the cry: "Down with traditions! We are innovators! Down with all the past!"

To make use of openness and the democratization of our life in this way, for your own purposes, is to be in covert opposition to the restructuring and to do it substantial harm.

What is really new that is arising today is as yet only the promise of spring in art. Spring is a lovely time, a time of revival. Lilac days. The silvery spring sunshine. And the green of young leaves. But the sap necessary to the life of this fresh foliage rises from the ground, from the roots of the tree, which means from the single stem of art, from its traditions. The inescapable and long known truth is that only the development of traditions is capable of giving birth to anything new of lasting value.

For instance, the perfect, modern style of Bunin, Sholokhov, Leonov, and Bulgakov, the first-rate masters of form and apostles of literary language, could not have come about without the entirely different style of Pushkin, Karamzin, Lermontov, Gogol, Lev Tolstoy, and Dostoyevskiy, just as modern music could not have been born without the universal magic of Bach, Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, and Moussorgsky, or modern painting (including many "isms") without Breughel, Bosch, the giants of the Renaissance, the French and Russian impressionists, and the realistic power of Ivanov, Surikov, and Nesterov. Renouncing sources and traditions is the kind of arrogant ignorance that should have been got rid of at the beginning of the century. Alas and alack, many of the lessons of the past taught nothing to the geniuses of the Herostatos variety. This power-seeking arrogance periodically emerges, often developing into obsessive tendentiousness on the part of the cultural destroyers, who instill a single principle into those who are simple enough: "It is of no significance to the future who your mother was!" However, whoever your mother may have been, it was she who gave birth to you, and not some electronic machine, and a small kindred part of your mother is always within you. Therefore today, when we talk of restructuring as a special kind of revolution, and above all as a revolution in man's consciousness, we have no right to betray values created in the past or to fail to realize what is really new, rather than a destructive counterfeit of the new, brought forward by demagogic cunning.

It would be wrong and frivolous, having taken some progressive step forward in the economy, social life, or art, to look around at the West and wait ingratiatingly to see what they will say and think about us. While waiting for foreign praise or blame we will do nothing sensible. When we pay too much nervous attention to what the West is saying about us, we belittle ourselves and lose our dignity and self-respect. This has harmed us in the past, so here too it is time to make adjustments in the direction of common sense, and not repeat past mistakes. We ourselves are intelligent and experienced enough to draw the right conclusions about ourselves.

The state is like a person who, having his own viewpoint and consistently upholding it, inspires respect, even if the opposing side, by virtue of its own social position, adheres to different views. Playing at fitting in with someone else's opinion and wanting to please someone means not respecting yourself. After all, the restructuring cannot be adjusted to fit the West. The new cause of difficult transformation is beginning for our own sake, and if it is adjusted to fit in with some outsider's principles, it could end up by being for their sake. History remembers--Western expressions of approval of our internal affairs have often proved to be falsehoods and disinformation.

When I think about the changes in our life today, I cannot help remembering what happened with my first book of short stories. These postwar stories were written on topics which were not very cheerful for that time, and the publishers told me: "Not bad. But please, restructure them!" That was in the fifties. Then too the question of restructuring was being raised, although people did not know how to put it into practice, because the voluntarist attitude to the economy perpetrated an outrage on its meaning. We must ensure that the present restructuring develops in full accordance with the economic and spiritual circumstances, and does not repeat the lamentable fate of its predecessor...

Going back to my first stories, I remember: They were printed with a so-called American happy end, which, of course, was not appropriate to life as it was then. It is hard for talented--and I mean talented--writers to begin today, too, since not infrequently subjective liberties and editorial interventions are perpetrated on their manuscripts, distorting the sense, and moreover the manuscripts have to travel an unendurably long way before they reach the reader. Talent, as always, is dangerous to the literary official.

By force of your own conviction, if you like, by force of your own spirit, love, and hate, it is possible to sow good seeds in people's consciousness. Literature studies man through objective nature and subjective nature, through his actions.

You cannot learn to be talented--even the most experienced pedagogical artist cannot do that. But you can learn empty philosophizing, though you cannot learn philosophy, any more than you can learn to create. One artist, Cezanne, never liked another artist, Ingres, and he said: See how tenderly, how touchingly the subject is drawn, but it is dead, there is no life, it is only

a portrait. That is, you can learn to build a sentence, to describe objects, to construct a literate composition, in fact you can cultivate the skill of writing, say, a portrait, a dialogue, or a landscape. But you cannot learn joy and tragedy, life itself, and in art you cannot learn what is known as "touch."

A hero can act, walk about, do things, breathe, suffer, smile, but it will be a lifeless portrait. What is "touch"? Paradoxically, "touch" is talent, and at the same time the artist's entire life. It is possible, of course, to imitate and borrow someone else's style, and even someone else's sentiments. But it is impossible to imitate the writer's life history, experience, and, most importantly, his soul. A young writer, in order to become a writer, has to make his own life history, without avoiding life's knocks, without evading its sharp corners, because all this develops the soul.

Artistic skill is a special skill, and young writers should not "push" their work into the pages of newspapers and journals at all costs. The most important thing in an artist's life is not vainglory, not a place in literature, but literature itself. Today, when one hears the excessively loud voices of certain young poets: "Publicize us, show us on television!", one feels embarrassed by this shamelessly demanding attitude, which was not present in the young Lermontov, or Blok, or Yesenin. Naturally, the new literary roads for new talents are unlikely to prove smooth in every respect. But that has always been so. The most important thing of all is to reduce considerably the time taken for each writer to move toward the final goal, the publication of a book.

As for my own life history, it is all my novels, everything I have written. My life history is woven of words, if I can put it like that. My novels are myself, and all the pains and joys of the society I live in. The most inaccessible space lies between reality and words. That space is the torments of the writer, torments which nonetheless end when the novel is completed.

There are three great concepts in our life which determine everything: politics, science, and art. I think the fate of every one of us and of all mankind depends largely on the influence of these deities--on the practical force and the spiritual force.

Politics and science are called upon to answer the questions of reality, while literature poses the eternal questions facing man, solving the mystery of man, a mystery hidden behind seven seals, which science, for instance, is powerless to reveal. Dostoyevskiy now holds a leading place in terms of his influence on people's minds, while the snobs put his genius in the so-called traditional category. What they want is something "revolutionary," in whatever form. Any serious novel is a means of studying society. Literature fulfills its purpose when it brings about a critical change in man's attitude toward reality. That is what I call the politics of morality. I cannot imagine that in our very complex times the dominant role could be played by such a kind of story-telling as a novel lacking heartfelt pain and substituting for human sufferings and joys a trivial game of no more significance than a petit bourgeois who sits and pines in the park in the fall.

Some writers are interesting today only on a historical basis--from the viewpoint of style, rhythm, metaphor, and paraseology, but giants like Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Bunin, Sholokhov, Leonov, and Bulgakov are contemporary for all time, in the highest sense of the word.

The most important thing is this: Artistic truth lies in the writer's ability to create a living life, its tragedy, absurdity, joy, despair, opposite poles of feelings that can make us laugh or cry. These opposites define real art, regardless of what theorists bogged down in formulas call a novel--traditional or nontraditional.

There is also another, highly sophisticated literature, which "voiced" all the metaphors and adjectives, but it is archaic, ephemeral, pitiful, feeble, anemic, because there is no human pain in it. What is the point of this useless beauty? What is it for? Who is it for?

No, the only literature that will remain immortal is the literature that speaks of man with love, grief, and laughter.

The only literature that will exert an influence is the literature that is born in the depths of the conflicts of our sinful and transitory world.

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CULTURE

YOUNG ARTISTS' EXHIBITS SEEN AS UNIQUE, NON-TRADITIONAL

Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 5, Jan 87 p 16

[Article by Mikhail Kamenskiy under the rubric "The Palette": "We of Kuznetskiy Are Young in Spirit!"; first paragraph is source introduction]

[Text] The 17th exhibition of young Moscow artists at Kuznetskiy Bridge has elicited the most diverse reactions, judgments, disputes. One thing is clear: the exhibition has touched a sensitive spot in all its visitors, whether simply viewers or professional artists or critics. It is in this sense that the display can be called a success; for it has stirred up serious and substantive discourse regarding the problems of young modern art. We asked A. I. Morozov, who is chairman of the art criticism section of the Moscow Division of Union Artists in the RSFSR and head of the department of Russian and Soviet Art History in the faculty of history at Moscow State University, together with M. Kamenskiy, a young critic and graduate student at the State Institute of Theatrical Art, to express their views on this occasion, in the belief that the opinions of two professional art experts would contribute to a more objective appraisal of it.

Beneath the ceiling of the Kuznetskiy Bridge Exhibition Hall, a welded piece of sculpture entitled "Bi Ka Po" by G. Vinogradov serves as the emotional as well as auditory center of attention. A melody wafts with a light touch above the heads of the visitors. In the lives of many people an alarm has been sounded, signalling important goings-on, and here, in response to its summons, the people have hurried to gather together, as if in obedience to some ancient instinct. It is an invitation to a public discussion, and it has already begun.

In our culture the young have revealed their own music, theater, poetry, and their own youthful fashions. These tend to unite those of the same age and help them feel a sense of belonging to a new generation. It is only in the field of the fine arts that its own kind of youth culture has had difficulty sprouting. Recently, however, changes in our social life have provided a way to release this pent-up energy. The initial results of these new strivings may be seen at the 17th exposition of young Moscow artists. Here, our life is depicted as it is, viewed with love, but without embellishment or rhetorical effect.

In the works presented the pain and joy of the present day is felt, together with a desire to depict what is seen in one's own way. The artists particularly emphasize the theme of everyday existence. The sincerity of their work is occasionally similar to the songs of Vysotskiy in their courage and trust. A likeness on canvas of our daily activity and leisure in a difficult and not always friendly environment--this is what the young artists are reflecting upon and endeavoring to interpret.

By no means do we speak of mature, finished professionalism, in all cases. But the new generation of visual artists is persistently seeking its own style and unusual forms, as if at times preparing the way towards a new scheme of imagery and its plastic everyday incarnation.

The exhibition has been democratic. Considerable freedom in the language of expression has been permitted, and no one has been tied down to approved stereotypes. All this has made it possible for the exhibition to become an original public platform. In some ways it resembles the television program "Twelve Stories" in acquiring its distinctive character. The openness, the removal of "secret" restrictions, extends the range of art while introducing a new interpretation of life.

Many works on display are noteworthy for the keenness of their social insight. For example, the painting of D. Kontorov, "Nine Portraits of Unknown Persons"; or the allegorical composition of A. Sundukov, entitled "When in Line," in which a long line of featureless faces trail off into the boundless distance--their bodies merging into a single unbroken line that disappears beyond the horizon. The work is imbued with ideas of infinity and at the same time of monotony. The people have assembled in a line that extends around the world without losing hope of happiness. Here there is power of observation as well as a vivid sense of sadness.

It is striking that certain motifs are repeated in the works of altogether different artists. For example, the metro subway line serves as a characteristic metaphor of urban life with its speed, its crush of crowds, its slamming doors. Now it is not only a moral milieu of the city but perhaps its most characteristic avenue, an atmosphere of continuous intercommunication. No fewer than 11 canvases depict activities that take place in the Metro! The tired faces of the passengers in the car of "The Endless Train" by A. Sundukov show one sleeping, while another sits, the lenses of his glasses aglow with a dull luster, in a car that is frightening in its regularity and deafening in its silence.

The theme of the city and of the city-dweller attracts many of the exhibit's participants. They treat with endless variation the motifs of urban folk lore. In the works of one of the spiritual teachers of the present generation, Bulat Okudzhava, for instance, there is a powerful nostalgia for the warmth of human intercourse. The joy of the hustle and bustle in the streets in the soft yellow light of lamps after dark, drizzling rain or through the smoke of early morning--in all of this there is the love and a sense of love and belonging to the city, of poetry and of sorrow, experienced by a lonely person wandering about the city.

The styles of the urban artists vary, and at times the objects of their attention are found to be at opposite poles. One looks at houses and roofs, another tries to render a person in the rain, dancers, or people playing dominoes. The triptych of A. Protopopov is melancholy, his city without people, its monuments, cathedrals and streets washed as if by tears of a cold gray autumn rain. Only slightly warmer is the city of V. Braynin, in whose painting electric signs and lamps sparkle and glisten amid the noise and congest'ion of a human ant-hill. I Ganikovskiy unites the city with music; the painting "Symphony of Shostakovich" renders the strained dissonances of a street scene with a complex range of color. The work of M. Kantor is caustic; his "Hall of Expectation" is a painting full of sharp and grotesque observation. Restless passengers, groggy with sleeplessness, crowd the indifferent expanse of a railway station, apparently oblivious of one another.

The high tempo of present-day life, the energy of civilization as it accelerates before our eyes--all this makes up the very spirit of the modern age. And this has been subtly and skillfully brought out by all the compositions on display. Any one of these young artists, as he works on a canvas in his own studio, would imagine himself isolated and out of touch with the productions of others. The fundamental task of the exhibition has been, in my view, organizing the necessary relationship between each work and the context of its surroundings. A wise production concept, designed to find a place in the course of installation for each piece of artwork, has converted the exhibition into an enormous and harmoniously functioning mechanism in which each detail, installed according to an overall plan, achieves an interesting result. The entire scenic embodiment of the exposition possesses a dramatic composition of its own. It has been non-traditional and in its own way unique, thanks to its organizers--D. Dondurey, I. Lubennikov, and A. Skokan. The original sweeping decision and unexpected hanging of the paintings according to artistic tendency, and not according to spots of color (as is usually the case), spurs the imagination and creates a new tonality in the exhibition atmosphere, which is fundamentally not like that of a museum. Each new step in the exhibition, each turn and stop is determined by the logic of presentation--the exhibition resembles a city in its intersections and squares, its own distinctive avenues, vistas, empty areas. The halls of Kuznetskiy have been converted into a small model of a city, filled to overflowing with a crowd, some in a mood of carnival exuberance, others lamenting, but all reacting keenly. We, the viewers, have become witnesses of a surprising spectacle in which our contradictory existence has thus become clearly manifest. As a matter of fact we are dealing with a social phenomenon, the traditions of which should--and will--continue to develop.

The presentation was without leaders, who would have others following behind them, and the exhibition is "a romance without a hero." Its attractiveness lies elsewhere--in a spirit of free thinking, in vivid signs of innovations that pertain to life as well as to art.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

VLASOV OUTLINES 'NEW THINKING' IN FIGHT AGAINST CRIME

PM261141 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Mar 87 p 10

[Interview with A. V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA journalists under "press Club" rubric: "This is 02..."; date and place not specified—first paragraph is unattributed introduction]

[Text] Recently there was a meeting in the editorial office between A. V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, and LITERATURNAYA GAZETA journalists. The minister described in detail the work being done to fulfill the 27th Party Congress decisions and the resolutions of the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and answered questions.

Competitive Entry Into the Militia

[Vlasov] If you were to ask which part of society's life or the life of an individual could never under any circumstances have any bearing on the work of our services, I would probably have difficulty in replying—everything concerns us. Both the complex problems being tackled by the country today, and the concerns, anxieties, sorrows and joys which are the lot of each of its citizens. It is our first and foremost duty to ensure their peace and protect their rights and legitimate interests.

The conclusions, appraisals, and decisions of the January CPSU Central Committee Plenum provided us with an extensive arsenal of resources to pursue cadre policy in restructuring conditions.

As M. S. Gorbachev noted, law enforcement organ cadres are faced with the task of "persistently learning to work in conditions of expanding democracy and openness, relying on the trust and support of the whole people." The plenum makes it incumbent on us to make substantive and specific use of this end of the cadre potential of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and the human factor as a whole.

In the atmosphere of moral renewal, strengthening of discipline, and good organization which is so typical of the country's life and the processes of accelerating socioeconomic development, the gaps in our work, the inertia, conservatism, and lagging behind the pace of restructuring are becoming more noticeable and more intolerable. The restructuring processes have still not

touched many echelons and components of our system. The contribution of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs to restructuring is still insufficient. Our efforts are concentrated on the unrelenting struggle against drunkenness, sponging, drug addiction, and unearned income, and the resolute strengthening of legality in all official components.

[I. Gamayunov, chief of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Communist Education Department] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, the diversity of the tasks facing the internal affairs organs is connected, naturally, with the work of the very diverse services and subdivisions. These include the militia, the internal forces, the fire services, the extradepartmental guard, and workers in corrective labor establishments.... It is a complex structure. Is there not a certain danger in its unwieldiness? Does it not create a so-called "apparatus work style" which emasculates active work and emmeshes it in red tape?

[A. Vlasov] Yes, this is a danger and we recognize it. Today thousands of people work in the ministry's central apparatus, and it can happen that it is difficult for me--the minister--to reach a specific employee. Some people even organize correspondence between the different main administrations and are up to their eyes in floods of paper. We can see all this and are carrying out restructuring in the most revolutionary manner. Here the Belorussians' initiative deserves support. They decided to reduce their ministry's central apparatus by 30 percent and on this basis to reinforce the primary components: the rayon and city internal affairs organs. This approach is also typical of Georgia's Ministry of Internal Affairs. And it is not a mere formality or a shake-up of cadres but, if you like, a new principled concept of organization of all our work. It must be said that a comprehensive, targeted program is now in preparation for improving the work of Ministry of Internal Affairs organs in city and rayon components.

How does the population's contact with the internal affairs organs usually begin? With a phone call on number 02. If there is trouble and immediate help is needed, if a criminal needs disarming or people need protecting without losing time, people dial 02. The duty unit responds to these calls. And so this unit must be a very authoritative administrative component, both in the sense of technical equipment and in the sense of high professionalism on the part of cadres.

That is, to put it simply: let there be fewer people in the apparatus, sitting at office desks, and more people engaged in active work, making direct contact with the population.

Or take the precinct captain. He also effects direct contact between the militia and the population, he has to live by the latter's needs, requirements, and interests. A huge burden of work lies on the shoulders of the precinct personnel. Through them 40 percent of domestic crimes are covered, and they carry out around 50 percent of inquiry work. They are responsible for preventing lawbreaking in the domestic sphere and for combating drunkenness, moonshining, and sponging.

And, until recently, who joined the precinct personnel? It was considered that becoming a precinct officer meant going into a kind of exile, on the periphery of militia service. The very attitude toward this very important, one might say key figure of our profession was incorrect and disrespectful. It reached the point where the precinct officer had to organize street cleaning and dislodge icicles in winter.

Today the situation is being resolutely rectified here. An important decision has been adopted on improving the role and responsibility of this service and its effectiveness in preventing law violations. The number of militia precinct captains will be substantially increased. Their salary is being increased, good everyday conditions are being created, and special training of precinct personnel is being organized. We want to have experienced, knowledgeable, worldly wise, and serious workers. Like the duty unit, the precinct officer is the public face of our militia. For this reason, we intend to provide these employees with higher qualifications, and we plan to open a higher school in Tyumen, a faculty in Kiev, and courses in Stavropol for that purpose. It may seem that I am talking about things that are too localized and exclusively departmental. Believe me, this is not the case. By strengthening—at the expense of the apparatus—those services which deal directly with the population, we are also effecting democratization in our work and expanding its openness. And if we start to repeat "democratization, openness," 100 times but do not come out of our offices, there will be little point.

In trying to grasp the meaning of the plenum's materials and decisions, we are all convinced of the importance of the key, fundamental political level of restructuring—the deepened democratization of Soviet society and of all our state and social life. Democracy, openness, criticism, and self-criticism are the most important and determining features of restructuring. They are the driving forces of the renewal and acceleration set in motion by the party. We must persistently assimilate the methodology and practice of work in conditions of developing democracy, arm and enrich ourselves with its methods, and rely totally on the disciplining potential of the institutions of Soviet democracy. Reporting to working people and the population must be introduced into the system, and more concern must be shown about openness and about regularly informing the population of measures to protect public order, the results of the fight against crime, and the ways in which proposals and criticisms are being realized. Reporting and openness must not leave any dark alleys in our activity, and we must rid ourselves of the slightest manifestations of misconduct, red tape, lawlessness, and dishonesty.

Obviously we must tell the paper's readers that precinct captains have been reporting to the population in Gorkiy, Kurgan, and other oblasts. The appraisals and proposals expressed have been taken into account in the official certification of these employees. Elections of militia subdivision chiefs have been held in Moscow, Khabarovsk Kray, and other regions. We will persistently develop and strengthen forms and methods of democratization and openness in the daily work of the internal affairs organs.

[I. Kaplun, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent] Articles in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and other newspapers unfortunately attest that there are still poorly qualified, even randomly picked people in various services and various posts in the internal affairs organs. What measures are being taken here?

[A. Vlasov] The press is perfectly justified in criticizing us for this. Unscrupulous and slovenly people do feature among our personnel. There have even been cases of militia employees' breaking the law and professional ethics, and what is more of "fraternizing" with the criminal element. Several internal affairs organs workers have stood trial for this. We regard every such case as an extreme occurrence and draw all the necessary conclusions from it. What conclusions? Primarily we are resolutely purging our ranks and stepping up monitoring and ideological, political, and moral education. Of course, the most important thing is the qualitative selection of cadres. There is a direct link here: The better a worker is, the sounder a professional is, the less danger there is that he will go downhill at some point. And it must be admitted that in recent years we have largely lost our professional nucleus. Unfortunately, we rarely meet today such legendary detectives as L. Sheynin used to write about. There are several reasons for this. The frequent turnover of cadres, the dispersal of the best professionals among the various services, and the poor training of lawyers in correspondence VUZ's and of the quota personnel [limitchik] working in the Moscow militia. They don't even know the city very well, it's the first time they've seen a subway, and we demand high militia skill and excellent work quality from them. It's absurd, of course! Today the question is being raised of competitive selection for the militia, and the requirements of such competition must be sufficiently high and strict. As a result of all these measures, we believe that we will succeed in putting an end to the intolerable phenomena which our press is writing about today.

[A. Borin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer] The newspapers, and in particular our newspaper, have already raised the question that it is time we started to publish specific figures relating to the state of crime in the country and the fight against it. How do you react to this? Do you not think that we use the vague "hundreds and thousands" too frequently, although the precise figure would only draw attention to the urgent problem and help to tackle it more effectively? Here is an example: Every year almost 40,000 people are killed and 250,000 injured as a result of traffic accidents in the country. Perhaps it is worth actually announcing these impressive figures aloud and really sounding the alarm?

[A. Vlasov] Agreed. Let us shout them out. And in general I believe that broad openness is necessary and essential in all spheres of our work. First, this would enable us to provide a clear idea of the real state of affairs and the specific tasks which face the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs and our society in general today. And second, it would put a stop to unnecessary and harmful rumors and various fabrications. Sometimes you hear people say that we allegedly keep our statistics secret because we have virtually overtaken other countries in terms of crime levels. But this is completely untrue! The level of serious crimes in our country is currently 17 times below

the U.S. level. We must not underestimate our troubles, complacency never leads to any good, but we do not need to exaggerate them and sow panic either.

[A. Udaltsov, deputy chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] The fight against crime obviously requires a study of its structure and clarification as to which types of crimes are committed especially frequently and which are on the decrease. What can you say about this?

[A. Vlasov] Of course, the structure and dynamics of crime are being studied carefully. The conclusions obtained provide us with clear guidelines, enabling us to wage the fight against crime with deliberateness and precision. Throughout the country as a whole crime decreased by 4.6 percent in 1986 as compared with 1985. The number of murders decreased 21.7 percent, cases of grievous bodily harm decreased 24 percent, burglaries and robberies decreased 25 percent, and thefts of personal property decreased 13 percent. On the other hand more cases of bribery, speculation, embezzlement of state and public property, and abuse of official position were detected.

Mercenary crimes of property are in the greatest proportion today--46 percent. These include theft of personal property, embezzlement of state and public property, speculation, and so forth. Among the thefts, apartment thefts hold a considerable place. It must be said that the criminal often operates in a sophisticated and cunning way. But the methods for uncovering these crimes are also of course not standing still. The complexity of the crimes forces us to work in a more skilled and clever manner and to use all the available arsenal of scientific and technical means.

So-called domestic crimes occupy a substantial place in the general crime structure. Whereas in the United States 80 percent of murders take place in public places, in the streets, and in parks, in our country 70 percent of all murders are committed in the home: somebody gets drunk in his apartment, it comes to blows, and the kitchen knife goes into action.

Altogether "drink crimes" are a serious danger: almost one-third of crimes are committed in a drunken state. However, it must be said that the statewide fight against drunkenness and alcoholism is already bearing fruit. The statistics show that the proportion of "drink crimes" is steadily decreasing. It is true that another danger has appeared: moonshining, especially in the countryside, but also in the cities. And we must considerably step up the struggle against this phenomenon. I mean both its prevention and its eradication. In Azerbaijan, Moldavia, and L'vovsk Oblast we uncovered and neutralized "underground" shops for the manufacture of wines and spirits. The manufacture was being carried out on a wide basis, the drinks were bottled, brand labels were affixed, and all the products were dispatched into the trade network.

[N. Loginova, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA observer] But is there not a danger here that, owing to the generally favorable picture, some local internal affairs organs personnel may try to ignore those crimes which are particularly difficult to detect? Does not the objectivity of the statistics themselves suffer as a result of this? Readers write: it sometimes pays the chief of a militia branch to prove two petty thefts rather than one violent robbery.

[A. Vlasov] We severely punish our personnel--including even instituting legal proceedings against them--for distorting statistics or concealing crimes from the record. The prosecutor's office and our special monitoring services keep an eye on this. We are not afraid of "looking bad"; we need an objective, true picture. Indeed, if we talk about its "paying" a militia worker to conceal, he on the contrary will record a major offense and not try to prove a "petty" one. But, I repeat, for this we punish severely. Another point is that any figures need in-depth analysis and interpretation. I said that the percentage of embezzlements and bribes has increased somewhat, that is, those crimes that are dealt with by the Department for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation. However, it is not the number of these crimes themselves that has increased, but the fight against them that has begun to be waged more effectively. And for this reason we treat the growth in these figures soberly and calmly, and we admit that the crime curve may even increase somewhat here. Consequently, it is in the policeman's interests not to conceal such figures any more, but on the contrary to show them openly and record what actually happens.

[A. Borin] But, Aleksandr Vladimirovich, such an orientation among your personnel could also possibly provoke an undesirable result. If an employee of the Department for Combatting Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation is interested in increasing these figures, if they have to give evidence of their good work, won't some people try to artificially augment and fabricate these cases? Will this not lead to dangerous abuses in the service? After all we know that, unfortunately, alongside the real bribe-takers we sometimes find under investigation those whom enemies simply wished to settle accounts with, take revenge on, or clear out of the way.

[A. Vlasov] I understand your question. We require from operational investigators the strictest observance of socialist legality. If it becomes known that some people are, as you say, "fabricating" or artificially "augmenting" these cases, there is no place for such workers in the internal affairs organs.

Moreover, the problem here is much wider and deeper. It is a case in general of a decisive improvement in the quality of investigation work. The January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum resolution stressed what great importance is attached today to improving the investigation organs' work.

Various proposals are being made in the press so as to how exactly the investigation organs should be restructured. An overwhelming number of criminal cases are still investigated by us, and a certain number of them by investigators from the prosecutor's office. The question is being raised of creating a unified investigation apparatus and considering its subordination. Obviously, before taking any specific decisions, a very careful study of this very complex and important problem is required.

As for the investigation subdivisions of the Internal Affairs Ministry organs, we intend to remove investigators from the structure and staffs of local (rayon, city, and oblast) internal affairs organs and subordinate them to the union republic Ministry of Internal Affairs Investigative Administrations

and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Main Investigation Administration. Such centralization will help to strengthen socialist legality and rule out instances of violations of investigators' procedural independence.

The party Central Committee has demanded that we resolutely put an end to manifestations of red tape, callousness, indifference to what happens to people, and prejudice and bias in inquiries and investigations. Absolutely all instances of unjustified detention and arrest and unlawful institution of proceedings must be excluded from the practice of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs.

What Is the Criminal

[I. Gamayunov] The fight against crime obviously begins with a study of the causes which give rise to this or that type of crime.

[A. Vlasov] Perfectly correct. Here is a specific example for you. Almost half the thefts committed at enterprises occur in the agroindustrial complex and the meat, dairy, and food industries. It is of course necessary to neutralize the specific thieves, and we are engaged in doing this. However, our work cannot be limited to the "hunt" for criminals. We must know what specific conditions promote the commission of crimes and create favorable ground for them. There are several such conditions, and we must seek to remove them. These include poor safekeeping of socialist property and flaws in the system of monitoring and recording products. For instance, by manipulating the indicators for grain weight and moisture content, unrecorded surpluses are created at grain procurement centers, and then this grain is pilfered on the sly. So-called "petty thefts" are intolerable. You might think: Well, what's so special about somebody stealing a kilogram of meat or sausage—that's a trifle! But these "trifles" amount to millions.

Today we are working with ministry and department leaders on how to close the channels for the pilfering of social property.

Frequently objective conditions are created which, as it were, urge a person to commit an offense. Take the same shortage. A person eagerly goes into a store to buy an essential item, but there are none on the counters and none to be found in a month of Sundays. So he "borrows" from his own enterprise. I am not saying this, of course, in justification of such actions. But we must understand their nature. Otherwise how can we prevent such offenses?

Or here is another case. At a bakery in Georgia people began to wonder: why does a woman worker take a couple of small loaves with her when she leaves after her shift? They only cost a few kopeks. It turned out that the shift finished late and the woman did not have time to get to the bakery store. So it was decided to let the worker take this bread not secretly, but legally and openly, and then pay. Was this sensible? In my opinion it was very sensible. People stopped feeling that they were criminals, and the moral and psychological climate at the enterprise improved. Unfortunately, the monitoring organs interfered, and as a result this useful action was stopped. Bureaucratic directions gained the upper hand over common sense.

I say this for a purpose: of course, it is necessary to wage intransigent struggle against criminals, and they must be shown no indulgence. But, on the other hand, we must not artificially produce thieves and make people into criminals. This, incidentally, is how those extremes in the struggle against unearned income which LITERATURNAYA GAZETA has described have arisen. We are resolutely combating this phenomenon and requiring our employees to operate within the law, preventing them from showing any subjectivism or taking the law into their own hands.

[A. Levikov, chief of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Economics Department] And do organized criminal groups exist in our country?

[A. Vlasov] I could not say that there is no organized crime at all in our country. When there was overreporting of millions of tons of cotton in Uzbekistan and billions of rubles of state resources were embezzled, was that not in fact organized crime? Or take the crimes of trade workers in Rostov and major embezzlements in Moldavia. One of the most important professional tasks is to prevent and stop group crime and its organizational forms.

[A. Tamirov, deputy LITERATURNAYA GAZETA responsible secretary] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you spoke of the structure of crime. But what can you say about the actual criminal? What tendencies can be traced here? Who commits crimes most frequently—men or women, older or younger people?

[A. Vlasov] Men commit crimes more frequently, though it is true that recently an increase in female crime has been observed. Some years ago the proportion of female crime was only 12 percent, but now the figure has almost doubled. This situation, of course, worries us a great deal. Women commit crimes in trade, and in particular proceedings are instituted against many women for moonshining.

As for the average criminal, he has "aged" a little in recent years. The percentage of young and juvenile criminals has decreased and the percentage of those over 30 has increased. Of course, this must in no way weaken the prevention of youth and teenage crime. But this work is sometimes conducted in a formal way, just on paper and "for the record." If we believe the statistics, there are 4-5 patrons for every bad teenager in our country. But what are these patrons like? Students who very often still need educating themselves? Workers who are at their machine tools for 8 hours, while their children and grandchildren await them at home? Or take the various mass inspections and operations. For 2-3 months everybody together is occupied with juveniles, they cause a stir and make a fuss, but time goes by and they completely forget about them and let matters drift. We believe this work must be conducted purposefully, without ad hoc campaigns, and by general efforts. We need the efforts of the militia, the family, public education organs, the higher schools, the Komsomol, and trade unions—in brief, the efforts of us all and the whole of society:

Only then will there be a point.

Returning to the question of crime prevention, I must stress that we must rely here primarily on the general public. We have in operation in the country 50,000 public law and order stations and 149,000 prevention councils at enterprises, and 14 million people are volunteer militia members. And wherever matters are organized in a nonformal way and comrades work with feeling and a sense of responsibility, the results are bound to have an effect.

The Truth Is Always Specific

[V. Cherkesov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondent] The internal affairs organs deal with meting out punishment and the correction and reeducation of criminals. What problems do you come up against here?

[A. Vlasov] The effective tackling of the tasks of correcting and reeducating convicts is of statewide importance. However, to put it bluntly, shortcomings in the work of corrective labor establishments are being overcome only slowly, and repeated, recidivist crime is connected with this to a considerable degree. Proposals have been elaborated to overcome these shortcomings, create firm guarantees for enforcing the law, strengthen the influence of corrective and reeducative factors such as productive labor, work habits and education, and production training, and improve the tackling of questions of the social adaptation, establishment in daily life and work and return to an honest life of people who have served their sentences. It must be said that we frequently encounter instances of the unjustified rejection of applications for work and resitration from such people. This is inadmissible.

In recent years applied legal practice has been notable for ever increasing differentiation. Hardened and highly dangerous criminals have been made most strictly accountable in accordance with the law. At the same time the courts have made more active use of penalties not involving imprisonment for people who have committed minor crimes for the first time and whose correction does not require isolation from society. Obviously, in the work on the Fundamentals of Criminal Legislation which has now started we should consider the urgent need to further restrict the sphere of punishments involving imprisonment. In particular, it is worth applying various economic sanctions, fines, and conditional penalties much more widely. It is important for a person who has committed a less serious offense to stay in a healthy, normal collective, so that the collective can take care of his education and reeducation.

A great deal, of course, depends on established legal practice. Judges have the right to impose a penalty below the lowest limit, to apply deferments, and to sentence people to conditional penalties. But the courts have not used this right widely enough.

[Y. Izyumov, first deputy chief editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] That is one aspect of the matter, but there is another side. There are people who can be said to have become professional criminals. Following their release from a corrective labor colony, they immediately commit another crime. What about them?

[A. Vlasov] You are talking about recidivist crime. This must also be approached in a differentiated manner. It can happen that a person is tried three times and we treat him as an inveterate recidivist. But look what he is being tried for. The first time he stole a can of food, the second time he broke the passport rules, and the third time he was tried for nonpayment of alimony....

But, I agree with you that people who commit serious crimes, and indeed not just once, must be punished with all the severity of the law, in conditions of a harsh regime,

In other words, I want to say that in our activity--whatever it concerns--there is not and cannot be an indiscriminate, standardized, median approach. The truth is always specific. This applies to crime prevention, the conduct of investigations, and the reeducation of offenders. In short, it applies to everything that the internal affairs organs deal with.

For this we must know and study profoundly all the diverse phenomena of modern life and the tumultuous and complex processes taking place in our society.

This knowledge and know-how do not, of course, come of their own accord. They must be persistently and purposefully sought. For example, an Institute of Public Opinion has been created under the Georgian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is made up of scientists and practitioners. This institute studies and shapes public opinion. In accordance with the data obtained specific recommendations are elaborated to educate juveniles and to combat drug addiction, sponging, unearned income, and so forth. We intend to create similar institutes in the Internal Affairs Ministry Organs of the other union republics and in major territorial administrations, too. One thing is clear: we can no longer work as we used to work. Time itself demands new thinking, new approaches, and new appraisals from us. "Genuine Democracy," the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum stated, "does not exist either outside or above the law." This key formula must be an unswerving guide to action for all of us.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

WIDESPREAD ILLITERACY, TRUANCY AMONG VILLAGE CHILDREN

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Mar 97 p 4

[Article by L. Makikamov: "Perfect Order on Paper but Children Stay Illiterate in Faraway Villages"]

[Text] The asphalt pavement ended some 40 kilometers away from Dushanbe. After that we were shown the road to the kishlak [village] of Kakabulak by Z. Sharipov, secretary of the Soviet in the village named after K. Sardarov. He did not seem to be doing it very willingly.

The first to meet us were the ubiquitous boys. The one quickest to approach greeted us in quite a grown-up manner: by putting his hand on his chest.

"What is your name?"

"Shamsiddin," the boy looked back at the adults who were also coming to meet us.

"Do you go to school?"

"Yes, of course", responded for him a tall, well-groomed man, "That's my fellow, he's a fourth-grader."

"Well, read this for us."

Shamsiddin, looking not very sure of himself, took the copy of a Tajik newspaper for young pioneers that we brought with us. His father frowned. The fourth-grader, caught in a trap, was staring at this feat.

"He cannot read," came his buddy to his rescue and laughed.

"Is it true that you cannot read?"

Shamsiddin looked up with a sad and guilty smile.

"He feels shy before strangers," hurried to explain his father and remembered:

"Why stand here? Please come into the house."

This was how we met Nazhmiddin Khodzhiev's family. He has thirteen children; three of his daughters are already married and have left the house. The rest still live with their father.

We asked him to call his daughters of school age. Khodzhiev the elder faltered at first but then agreed to it; he gestured to his eldest son to bring them in. The girls came in prepared, holding their textbooks. We asked them to read an unfamiliar newspaper article and only one of them, a seventh-grader, was not embarrassed by the request. The other two were a sorry sight.

The silence on our way back seemed oppressive. Unfortunately we had confirmed these most improbable rumors that children in faraway villages often remain illiterate.

But how could this happen? Who helped to revive something against which Kharahan Sardarov had fought in the twenties? The local village Soviet is named after him and his monument makes you remember why the heroes of the civil war went to meet bullets and knives.

Nurullo Sharipov, a fifth-grader, came to boarding school No 113 from the village of Nizhny Bogak where he finished primary school. Only three boys out of eight students of the third grade were sent to the boarding school by their parents. And what happened to the five girls?

"They stayed at home," answered Nurullo matter-of-factly. "They are helping their parents."

"Did they come to school at all after the third year?"

"No, they didn't."

Sh. Kasymov, the boarding school principal, wears a deputy's badge on his jacket. When I learned that he himself lived in the village of Nizhny Bogak I asked if there were any girls in the village who were prevented from attending school by their parents. Kasymov shrugged: "I go to work early in the morning, I come back late at night. I am not sure but I think there are no such children."

Names of Nurullo Sharipov's former classmates are entered in the neat class attendance registers. Oimkhol Sharipova, for instance, has hardly missed a day of school; Sifatol Safarova has not missed any either. Their grades are not worse than those of other students.

Finally the school principal admitted that some girls did not go to school in reality. But... only temporarily. It seems that the sovkhos would not provide a bus to take the kids to school. Since when? Since the very beginning of the academic year, as it turned out to be. Does this mean they were absent from school for the whole of the first term and the beginning of

the second? Was there any transportation from Nizhny Bogak last year? The school principal hesitates again.

It comes out eventually that last year the bus was provided only in December but then nobody wanted to start going to school that late. Meanwhile all school documents reflect perfect order of things.

"We have nothing against sending the girls to school if they provide transportation," said Makhmadyusuf Nurov in Nizhny Bogak. His daughter Khairinisso is on the list of sixth-grade students but does not attend school.

It was difficult to speak to people responsible for school attendance as part of their job. Head of the methodology sector of Leninsky rayono [Regional Department of Education], B. Gayurov, at first was trying to prove that things were normal: everyone who was supposed to go to school did so. But having answered question after question he no longer insisted on the "official" point of view. However, he added at once that none of it was his fault. Among other things we discussed his one immediate responsibility, namely, to see how thirty of this subordinate methodologists control the academic process in schools.

I asked him directly how literate were the students. And after a slight pause came the answer: "Last year we checked eight-year school No 13. Fifth- and sixth- graders could not read a text in their native language. It happens in other schools too."

But if such is the situation why does nobody sound the alarm? Maybe they feel too shy to mess up the favorable numbers according to which there has not been any illiteracy in the republic for a long, long time and there are no kids of school age who do not attend school?

One can easily imagine what happens in faraway regions. This one village which is 40 minutes by bus from the capital still has seven girls that do not attend school though on paper they even move to the next grade. Just before our visit to Esamboi there came a sizable committee from the Propaganda Department of the Tajik CP Central Committee. It came to check the level of ideological instruction in the Leninsky rayon. But its members failed to notice either little ignorant children or the fraud in the school.

There is another fact. Ironically, the deputy to the Tajik Supreme Soviet from the Esamboi electoral district is A. Rashidov, Minister of Education. "The Ministry has no information about children who do not attend school", said A. Kostetskaya, deputy chief of school administration board, "ours is a state office; we cannot rely on unconfirmed rumors."

Later, though, Kostetskaya remembered one such occasion: the local ispolkom decided to eliminate an old kishlak in one of the rural regions and naturally closed its school together with the rest of the offices. But local residents did not want to abandon their old nests and nobody thought of re-opening the school. So for several months the kids had nowhere to study.

"On certain occasions this is possible, of course", admitted Kostetskaya with a sigh.

Those certain occasions! They do not show up in any statistical report; no official mentions them until one presents some unavoidable evidence of them. Then they would agree: yes, certainly, there are some dead souls. But the souls are quite alive. Who do we give them away to?

This time the way home did not seem shorter as it usually happens. To the contrary, the return road across the hills was interminably long, like a road back through history. Every kilometer seemed a year or two on the way from the past to the present. When I saw the first tall buildings of Dushanbe I remembered the words of someone I was talking to: "You don't believe it? Go and see for yourself". These words became the reason for my trip. I went and saw for myself.

Several days ago I was buying vegetables at the city market "Barakat". I noticed that the seller, a young fellow of about 25, kept peeking under a sack that was lying in front of him. My turn came and again I saw a glimpse of paper under the sack. After I paid to him I asked, out of curiosity, what was there? The lad showed to me in embarrassment a sheet of lined paper with a table on it: 1 kg - 40 kopecks, 2 kg - 80 kopecks, 3 kg - 1 ruble 20 kopecks, etc.

"Why do you need this"? I asked and stopped seeing a guilty smile on the young face. I saw the same smile on the face of Shamsiddin from Kakabulak when he was saying good-bye to me.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

REASONS FOR JEWISH EMIGRES RETURN TO USSR EXAMINED

Minsk SELSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by A. Pravov, special correspondent, Novosti Press Agency:
"Why Former Soviet Citizens Are Returning"]

[Text] Previously they had returned, but their numbers were small. Then the picture changed. Over the last few weeks there has not been a New York-Moscow Aeroflot flight on which there have not been a few former Soviet citizens returning to the USSR to live. They have also been arriving on other flights as well as by train, for example, on the train from Vienna to Moscow. Sometimes they return alone, sometimes with their families. Two days before New Years Day an IL-86 brought 52 former Soviets from New York to Sheremetyevo-2 International Airport.

About 15 years ago, at the beginning of the 70's, the number of people of Jewish nationality who wanted to go to Israel to live rose sharply. Many of them, it later became clear, did not get to the "land of their ancestors," but for some reason turned up in Vienna, Rome and then in New York. Soon a large group which had initially gone to Israel but soon figured out what life there was like for emigres from the USSR joined those who never got to Israel, in the States. After a short time crowds of former Soviet citizens started to appear at Soviet embassies with one request: let us return home; we have been deceived.

"What happened? How can one explain this wave of returnees?" These questions I asked Samuil Lazarevich Zivs, deputy chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet People. He answered, "At the beginning of the 70's Zionist propaganda launched a concerted attack on the minds of Soviet Jews. It presented pictures of 'heavenly life' in the West, where, in contrast to the USSR, a smart, enterprising person could be very successful." Invitations from Israel were organized for those who wanted them.

Then "paradise" turned into a real hell. People born and reared in the USSR were unable to adapt themselves to life either in Israel or in the West. "I compare my decision to leave the USSR for the USA," former Mosfilm movie director Rashid Atamalibekov told me, "with that of a microbiologist to test some dangerous preparation on himself. As a person

We hear voices raised against them. These voices argue that it is wrong to return Soviet citizenship to those who renounced it. Nevertheless, in general these human tragedies evoke understanding. The principle inculcated in Soviet people from childhood comes into play: never be indifferent to another's misfortune.

The returnees will have all the rights of Soviet citizens. They will not hear reproaches directed at them regardless of their cities of residence and their places of work: the film studio, the kolkhoz, the plant, the consumer service shop or the symphony orchestra.

"I am glad that I am back in my homeland," said Rebecca Katsap, a teacher from Odessa, one of the 52 who returned to the USSR from the USA on 29 December. "I am happy that I again have received the right to be called a Soviet citizen. I am grateful to my motherland for taking us back."

These words, it seems to me, explain best why "former" Soviet citizens are returning to the USSR. One can hardly argue that measuring one's motherland by its standard of living is wrong.

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SOCIAL ISSUES

DISENCHANTED COMPOSER RETURNS TO USSR FROM U.S.

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 3, 14 Jan 87 p 9

[Unsigned article: "What He Learned Abroad"]

[Text] A few days ago a few more families of former Soviet citizens returned home from the United States. Among them was the family of Anatoly Gross, a composer-song writer who wrote his songs under the pseudonym Dneprov. A LITERATURNAYA GAZETA correspondent met with A. Gross immediately after passport control procedures at Sheremetyevo-2 International Airport.

"I left with my family for the United States in 1979 having given in to the urging of my father-in-law Pavel Leonidov, who was living at the time in the United States. He painted a picture of life that was beautiful and heavenly and that contained complete freedom of artistic self-expression.

"Disillusion struck almost at the beginning of our stay abroad. There was, in fact, more than enough artistic freedom. However, no matter how talented you are, you create there for yourself or for a narrow circle of people who know you well. For a composer, especially one working in the song genre, the audience and its support have a special importance. In addition, the composer needs funds in order to live. For four long years I earned a living behind the wheel of a New York taxi. Subsequently, things got somewhat better and I was able to perform my songs in restaurants and cabarets, but this kind of work did not bring any satisfaction. How often I recalled ruefully the huge audience which my songs had in the USSR!

"In time I came to understand that in the United States and also in the West in general talent is an insignificant component in the success of a composer, and even a singer. The main factor is money. Money produces a name and wide acceptance and love. Producers who could have helped me in my creative endeavors figured that in order for me to attract a mass audience I would have to raise two million dollars somewhere.

"What were the relationships among creative artists, especially if they had a fairly well-known name? It is hard to imagine such cruelty, especially the cruelty which they showed to one another.

"However, I did not make the decision to return to my homeland because my material situation was so bad. Finally, we were able to normalize our lives; we had enough to live on. That was not the problem. A composer, a poet or a writer deprived of the soil on which he was reared loses something irreplaceable--even if he doesn't lose himself--without which not only work but also life is impossible. Nostalgia becomes part of his every day. My wife and I put these thoughts into a song that we wrote in New York, "My Address Is Rus": "My heart lives at the address "childhood," we can't get away from this. There remain in Russia both happiness and sadness. My heart lives at the address "Rus."

"Many friends came to see us off to the Soviet Union. They were happy for me and they envied me. Many of them would have given anything to be in my place, returning home.

"And now I even envy myself; I can not believe that I am home..."

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